Hat-trick Berger is king of the Kop

IVERPOOL's smouldering sense of injustice, allied to their opponents' continuing lack of discipline, last Sunday helped them remind those above them in the table that their challenge may not be so distant after all. As it is, a 4-2 victory over Chelsea, reversing last season's FA Cup defeat, has restored Roy Evans's team to the top half-dozen.

Patrik Berger, apart from scoring his first hat-trick for Liverpool, produced an all-round performance of pace, perception and prodigious ef-fort which gave Evans's side the impact which, for all their patience and pretty passing patterns, this team quite often lack. For all Steve Mc-Manaman's angled dashes past defenders, the pony-tailed Czech was the central figure in this match.

For the third time this season Chelsea finished with 10 men because of a red card and for the second time the player to go was a Frenchman. With Frank Leboeuf suspended after his sending-off against Arsenal a fortnight earlier, Bernard Lambourde, his replacement in the middle of the defence, was booked by David Elleray for fouling Karlheinz Riedle on the quarter-hour and then dismissed for bringing down McManaman 10 min-

In the subsequent reorganisation, lengthe which saw Ruud Gullit bring him-rations.

Shoe for wrecking boats? (5)

4 Letter set, maybe Roman, if so

with high-bridged nose? (8)

filmsy monarch: Spooner said

B, 11 Plea against secrecy to one

she would camble on the

10 Irishman about to declare you

12 Coinage giving rise to a single

15 Health is recommended to suit

17 Parts of plants that stick to a

antique (1,5,2,6,2,4)

can't rely on him? (8)

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria

self on for Gianfranco Zola with the score at 1-1, whatever hope Chelsea might have had of winning at Anfield in the league for only the second time in 61 years all but disappeared. They continued to pass the ball well but their attack had lost its principal cutting edge.

Gullit's reason for the sacrifice of Zola, his most likely match-winner even when a man short, was that the Italian was a short man, too short in fact to hold the ball up as a lone striker. Yet the number of scoring opportunities Chelsea created during the last 25 minutes after they had gone 4-1 down suggested that Zola should have stayed on longer.

The sending-off of Lambourde was not the most controversial incident in a match which at times seethed with argument, mirroring Chelsea's 2-2 draw with Manchester United at Old Trafford.

Chelsea, for instance, had cause to feel hard done by five minutes before half-time when they were refused a penalty after Rob Jones appeared to barge into Gustavo Poyet from behind in full view of the

The Kop, however, was not letting on, and, in any case, had long since decided that the referee owed them some compensation. Certainly the goal with which Chelsen drew level barely two minutes after falling behind was a worthy addition to the lengthening list of refereeing aber-

pouch (5)

work (6)

Down

18 Artist Inversely pays a cell on

19 Drawing goes to payment for

21 Reduce scope of agreement (8)

25 Rio, an ancient city - poetically

26 Prison is the fashion, they say.

Dizzy city featuring trunks (8-4)

2 Conduct bachelor: he's taken

Welland?) (or football fans?) (8,6)

descendants? (4-5)

24 Battle over Derwent (or

it was Rome (8)



nearly took the lead on 15 minutes when Stig Bjornebye's centre from the left found Riedle rising above everyone at the far post to produce a firm header which Ed De Goey managed to tip over the bar. Four minutes later, the awkward bounce of a long ball from Paul Ince deceived Graeme Le Saux, and Berger lobbed De Goey with a coolness that was soon forgotten amid the

white Anfield anger that followed.

As Poyet fed the ball through to Zola, who was on-side, Hughes, running back from an offside position, appeared to foul Bjorn Kvarme when the Norwegian tried to get across to intercept the danger. Elleray glanced at his linesman for offside but the flag stayed down, no

up a sixth of us (9)

5 Sign here after Job? (4)

British border (6-3)

boy? (5)

state (9)

buying by 5 (4,5)

Last week's solution

3 A number or a voice, of course

Announcer or writer con moto

Investigator about to drop on

Instrument marred by Italian

9 Literary dame to amend this -

Queen Mother, first peer lirst,

harried in unreasonable manner

20 Most of us shine like diamond's

22, 23 Wader to seek expedient (9)

DEMISEMIQUAVER
BEBLII U D X G
CHARMER INDITER
L N I A E E R E
IDEAL NOTORIETY
M S A D E M H
ENTERTAIN CREDO

wrongly — rightly! (5,7)

13 Protestant's limits in Muslim

16 Royal dwarf, losing heart,

After a tentative start Liverpool | free-kick was given and Zola, keep- | their attack, then began to get ing his balance beautifully after David James had half-blocked him. ran the ball into an empty net as the crowd crupted.

Eleven minutes before half-time Bjornebye exchanged passes with McManaman before crossing low from the left-hand byline for Berger's right foot, for once, to complete the best move of the after-Three minutes before the hour, a

pass from McManaman caught Chelsen flat as puncaken at the back and Berger rounded De Goey to score Liverpool's third. Six minutes later Robbie Fowler added a fourth from Berger's return pass.
The ease with which Chelsea,

having added Tore Andre Flo to

Chelsea's gloom with a penaly: Flo had been brought dom: lasen McAteer, who replaced in at half-time. The win took Liverpool up!

hind Liverpool's defence signs." a rather tighter result had be:

tained a full complement of place

Gullit should have scored but:

over and eventually Poyetalled-

places, from 11th to sixth, v they are now a point be Chelsea. At times in this math! field saw signs of the thing: need to happen if Liverpoolists pionship aspirations are to be: ously renewed. Judgment, howshould wait until they start por results together, and preke against teams with 11 mea.

Langer in awesome form

trious record last Sunday when he strode unchallenged to his fourth victory of the season.

He won the German Masters by six strokes after a recordbreaking third round of 60 had spreadengled the field at the Motzener See club here and left the \$200,000 top prize at his mercy. Langer duly took it after a final round of 70 for a 21-underpar total of 267, relegating Colin Montgomerie to runner-up, with Thomas Bjorn third. Two more members of Europe's victorious Ryder Cup tenın, José Maria Olazábal and Costantino Rocca,

Patrik Sjoland on 276. This was the third time Langer had won a European Tour event the week after a Ryder Cup. In 1991, he demonstrated his resilience after his agonising miss on the last green at Kiawah Island by winning this title in Stuttgart. Two years ago, after the European triumph at Oak Hill, he took the European Open at Ireland's K club, and now he has won again, after achieving the victory over Brad Faxon that

ensured Europe retained the ...

European Tour success on by soil. "I forget what is behind

wards struggled to get him back to is car safely. Some of the crowd waved Union lags and wore rubber gloves. They were furious he had shaken hands with Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, a party regarded as in extricably linked to the IRA. He was the first British prime

lohn Mullin in Belfast

N ANGRY mob pushed and

rived at a shopping centre in

rotestant east Belfast minutes after

his historic meeting with Sinn Fein

The British prime minister was

forced to run for cover as more than

100 protesters abused him with

shouts of "traitor" and "bastard". He

took refuge in a bank and aban-

It was the roughest reception Ma

Blair has experienced while meet-

ing voters. He later left hurriedly

nder heavy police guard. His body-

loned plans for a walkabout.

Stormont Castle on Monday.

jostled Tony Blair as he ar-

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Week ending October 19, 1997

minister to meet a Sinn Fein leader since Lloyd George and Michael Collins signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 to formalise the partiion of Ireland.

One man wore a clothes peg or s nose. He rushed forward to Mr Blair, shouting "scum" in his face. e of the protesters, Stephe Clarke, aged 29, a painter, from east Belfast, said: "What did he expect coming here after meeting Adams? That we would welcome him with

open arms? It is a disgrace, and it hows he doesn't understand Ulster." Pauline Gilmour, aged 32, whose oyinend was shot dead by the IRA O years ago, said: "He shakes the ands of murderers and then he has he cheek to come here and smile at people. They have been devastated murder. People are disgusted at

his betrayal." Her boyfriend, Edward Graham, was a member of the Ulster Unionparty and a law lecturer at optimism for a lasting political set-

supersonic flight — failed by one minute to qualify as the world's first official supersonic land speed record

Noble prize . . . Thrust SSC, driven by RAF pilot Andy Green, goes supersonic in the Nevada desert on Monday, the first craft to break the

sound barrier on land. But the triumph of Richard Noble's British team — one day before the 50th anniversary of Chuck Yeager's first

Blair jeered after historic handshake

His meeting with Sinn Fein came last. Like the others, it was behind closed doors. Mr Blair confirmed he had shaken hands with the Sinn Fein delegation, which was led by Mr Adams, MP for West Belfast, and Martin McGuinness, MP for Mid-Ulster.

"I greeted them in the same way as I would greet any human being. I think it's important that we treat everyone as human beings," Mr Blair said. "What matters is that within a few months we have got a ceasefire. We have a commitment to democracy and non-violence, and now we must press on with the task

of finding a settlement." Mr Blair made it clear to Sinn Feln during the 20-minute meeting

participating parties at the all-party | talks if the IRA ceasefire broke | opportunity to underline to Sinn talks on Northern Ireland's future at | down again. He also emphasised Castle Buildings. He spoke of his | that any settlement required the backing of a majority of voters in

> Mr Adams told Mr Blair he wanted him to be the last British prime minister with jurisdiction over Northern Ireland. He repeatedly argued that Irish unity was the only solution. It had been a positive meeting, he said.

Mr Blair now faces the problems of deciding when to meet Mr Adams n front of cameras and when to invite Sinn Fein to Downing Street.

Mr Adams said: "I think we are dealing with a man who certainly recognises this is a historic opportunity. He also recognises that there has to be change."

David Trimble, leader of the

Ulster Unionists, shrugged off the handshake. "We feel it is rather sad that the Prime Minister thinks it is necessary. But he will be taking the

PHOTOGRAPH: WILLIAM CHERRY

Fein that these talks are based on peaceful means and the democratic

John Hume, leader of the nationalist SDLP, said: "By coming here today, the Prime Minister is demonstrating how high on his agenda this is. His visit strengthens the will of the people for lasting peace and puts pressure on the parties to achieve that."

Meanwhile the Clinton administration has excluded the IRA from ts new most wanted list of international terrorist organisations, but warned that a resumption of republican violence in Northern Ireland would lead to a ban on fund-raising and other IRA support activity in the United States. Ulster Unionist accused the administration of making a huge mistake that would re-

turn to haust it. The list of 30 terrorist organisations was issued last week by the US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, under the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1996. Under the act, designated terrorist organisations may not raise funds and other support in he US, visas are denied to their representatives and funds in US accounts are frozen. "Our goal is to make the United States fully a 'no Albright told reporters. "Our message to anyone who comes into our country intending to raise money for a terrorist organisation is: You

risk going to jail." Talks on the future of Northern Ireland, which resumed last week, vere thrown into disarray when Ray Burke, the Irish foreign minister and leader of his government's delegation at Stormont, announced he was quitting politics.

Mr Burke, aged 54, is embroiled in a row over land re-zoning around his constituency north of Dublin after receiving an unsolicited dona-tion from a builder seven years ago. He has denied any wrongdoing.

Commonwealth call, page 12

TheGuardian Weekly

Topedinglinghing their Reliterance

Clinton rebuff for landmine prize winners

Harry Joyce in Oslo and Ian Black in London

FFORTS to rid the world of anti-personnel landmines received recognition last week with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the International Committee to Ban Laudmines and its American co-ordinator

Jody Williams. But amid Jubilation about the \$1 million prize, praise for the role of Diana, Princess of Wales and a promise by President Boris Yeltsin that Russin would work for a global ban, the United States insisted it would not join more than 90 other countries in signing the Oslo treaty benning the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of landmines.

International reaction to the Nobel award was immediate from landmine victims in Angola to Mr Yeltsin, who declared at a Council of Europe meeting in Strasbourg that Moscow would reverse its former stance and accede to the ban.

Kofi Annan, secretary-general of the United Nations, called the prize "a victory for every child and mother and all vulnerable ocieties".

Ms Williams, who launched the ICBL in 1992, criticised the US refusal to drop its insistence on using mines on the Korean eninsula. "I've repeatedly said that Bill Clinton is neither a leader nor a statesman and I'll

say it again," she said. Ma Williams paid tribute to the work of Princess Diana in galvanising the campaign.

Literature prize, page 7 Comment, page 12

Italy survives budget revolt

Queen flies into massacre row

Clinton tied up in his own tape

Business as usual 24 at UK arms bazaar

Map of world's

lost forests Malto 50c Netherlands G 5

AS30 BF80 DK16 FM 10 FF 13 DM 4 Austria ` Belgium Denmark Finland Norway NK 18 Portugal E300 Saudi Arabis SR 6.50 Spain P 300 Spain P 300 Sweden SK 19 Switzerland SF 3.80 DR 450 L 3,500

Golf German Masters

Michael Britten in Berlin

BERNHARD LANGER added

were joint fourth with Sweden's

"I have no special secret," he said after celebrating his 10th

and focus on what is alread. Is cuunot live in the past." That is easier said that don

as his Ryder colleagues Montgomerie and Bjorn food after Langer had put bimselb youd reach with his careers third round. He recorded [] birdies and an eagle in beaut the eighth player to score 60i Europe. Had he not three put the 6th and seen a three ha birdle putt spin out of the 140 hole, he would have broken barrier.

Langer had only 23 puist establishing a seven-shoth for the final round. As Montgomerie remarked: 10 then on we all became to the plot." ...

When Langer resume round in the same vein, an holing his first wedge shale first bunker recovery and sing the simplest of birder is opening two holes, only ite gin of victory was in doubt

Neither Montgom Olazábal could make any pression and, when the structure of the original price in the original photographers in his research he was not only in dans ing second place - wo than \$135,000 - but a leadership of the month



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Briefly

corruption, racism, greed, ad

aggressive stupidity you touched on

are integral parts of his programme.

Mr Howard let it be known before

the last election that he was a fer

vent admirer of Margaret Thatcher

and George Bush, and then pro-

ceeded to raffle this malodorous

ideological chook to the nation. The

"dimwits" are the electoral majority

THE implications of "Watch

Those Beans' (September 28)

are alarming. Has Monsanto any

Weegena, Tasmania, Australia

who bought tickets.

drug administration.

Vancouver, Canada

IOHN Richmond's letter in re

I sponse to the article on privatisa

tion (October 5) seemed to me to

strike several nails on their heads

The propaganda on privatisation

most of it government inspired, has

been so powerful that in most peo-

ple's minds only privately operated

concerns can be successful and

ICOMMEND Paul Brown for h

article on bottled water (October

conversely, public services must be

Hugh Daubeny,

R H Harven,

Perth, Scotland

John Hayward,

FAR FROM being novel and taken assumption that this makes iconoclastic, the claim by Alan them more employable. Our pre-Sokal and Jean Bricmont that French philosophy is "simply a load of old tosh" is in fact the norm in most academic circles in Britain (Is modern French philosophy just a load of pseudo-scientific claptrap?. October 12).

Post-war French philosophy combines the enlightenment faith that reason can construct a plural society with a critical agenda. The phenomena of genocide, ecological catastrophe, mass poverty and starvation, and widespread mental depression among privileged classes. tell us that there is something seriously wrong with modern thought French philosophy shows that

modern life is largely governed by forces beyond conscious control: it exposes the historical and cultural basis of our beliefs and practices; it explores how the language we use determines what we think; it explores the power relations hidden beneath our use of knowledge; it explores the role of market forces in determining how we live and think; and how even our desires are formed by the culture in which we live.

New Labour, by contrast, seeks merely to adapt to global conditions, not to criticise them. There is a revolution sweeping the public institutions of the UK, embodied as much in the Dearing Report Into Higher Education as elsewhere: this is the permeation of management styles of thinking into all aspects of public endeavour. It subordinates all ends to the common goal of economic progress. Consequently, the huge debts laid on students drive them uway from the Humanities towards

United Kingdom......

Europe, U.S.A., Canada.....

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Tick box if you do not wish to receive offers from carefully selected companies

beyond the Left Bank. them more employable. Our precious culture of humanitarian and

critical thinking is being rapidly eroded; the new Dark Ages are

(Dr) Philip Goodchild, University College of St Martin,

THERE are, no doubt, good res sons why journalists (in Britain at least) enjoy a pretext for making fun of "thinkers", but if your aim in selectively quoting three French intellectuals is to gloat about their supposed incomprehensibility, then perhaps you might consider quoting too from a work of theoretical physics in order that we can all see how much more comprehensible and enlightening their talk is.

Philosophically speaking, the passages you quote from their book show a self-righteous and moralistic naivety that the objects of their attack have (whatever their faults) helped some of us to recognise all too easily.

(Prof.) Geoffrey Bennington,

ONCE again the Guardian Weekly falls for an anti-intellectual line against the French. There are indeed many people in Britain, including myself, who consider themselves to be "thinkers".

Do you not realise that your readers are increasingly turning towards Continental thinking as a way of gaining deeper insights into questions and constructions of identity, sexuality, race and history than the Angle-Saxon tradition has provided?

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many forms of contemporary cultural production, the French scene is exerting an enormous influence well

I would hope to see the Weekly charting these influences through informed articles, instead of resorting to superficial piss-takery. One need only think of Derrida and Deleuze's influences on architecture to see that the philosophy still oper-ates as a highly influential discourse. Jeremy Weate,

Across the sexual divide

FRANCIS Fukuyama's not-socovert chauvinism fuels the war etween the sexes not only by its very existence, but also by provoking equally divisive and destructive responses (Divided loyalties, October 5). Decca Aitkenhead's not-socovert contempt for 50 per cent of the world's population emerges recurrently with phrases such as "the real problem is men, who feel today that they have been released from the obligation to stay with their wives and particularly with the children they father", "the assumption that men can't help their inadequacies", "the price for men's social and economic failings". Ms Aitkenhead either neglects the fact that not 50 per cent but 100 per cent of the population of the world has inadequacies, social and economic faillngs, or just assumes that those of

women are irrelevant to the issue. Not that some men don't feel allenated sometimes. Everyone feels alienated if it seems to them that nothing depends on them any more, and that their contribution to the common good, rightly or wrongly, isn't appreciated. But Ms Altkenhead's apparent presumption that all men just allow themselves to be feckless and inadequate and all they want to do (given half a chance) is inseminate, duck responsibilities and enjoy unwarranted

> mony between the sexes and mutual support in solving problems. If partners from both sexes respect the other's striving for balance and fulfilment, it becomes much easier to accept, even enjoy, the fact that in some contexts the other behaves differently. Changes in the roles of men and women are complex and delicate Issues and a little bit of tolerance on both sides would

power hardly contributes to the har-

Fair share of China's cake

T IS misleading of Larry Elliott to of the Government's recent actions, such as advising the oil companies 2020 report as suggesting that "China has the potential to become the second-richest country in the world by 2020" (A green light that signals stop, not go, September 28). What the report in fact says is that China could become the world's second-largest trading nation, making it "a middle-income country with per capita income equal to those of Argentina, the Republic of am going to become a post-Korea and Portugal today". China's modernist. In the current context, projected economic growth is the latter offers a more meaningful premised on 120 million labourers discourse. leaving plots of land that are too Charles Woolfson, small to feed them and taking jobs Glasgow, Scotland

in the manufacturing and service industries. Rather than seeing these people's potential consumption as a green threat, we should worry about whether they will get a fair slice of China's (let alone the world's) cake, Post-Maoist growth has so far markedly increased income inequality.

The more equitable China's growth, the likelier it is that green and quality of life arguments will be heeded. Initial indicators are not all depressing. More than half of respondents to recent Chinese government surveys in Beijing and Shanghai said development "could be slowed down" to protect the environment. This is not the get-richquick attitude that Westerners are quick to ascribe to China, and it provides some grounds for believing the future may not be so bad after all. Nick Young Editor, China Development Briefing,

Kunming, Yunnan, China idea of the long-term effects of Roundup-Ready in the soil and in the external environment? Before there ARRY ELLIOTT says "the probis wide-scale acceptance of crops lem is that the entire basis for with genetically engineered resis globalisation is greed". He also quotes Charles Handy's The Hunterm effects of that herbicide must be established. In the case of Mongry Spirit: "We have become the prisoners of the money myth." santo, the possibility of this happen-To make things worse, the ing seems remote, as employees of the company occupy important posts in the United States food and United States' hegemonic capitalism tries to dissimulate greed with the

superb "I made it" syndrome. Marcelo E Aftalión, Buenos Aires, Argentina

An eye on the leading light

IOHN GRAY (Britain's Tories Utirting with self-destruction, September 28) has fallen prey to the fallacy that, by voting Labour in one election, voters see some mythical progressive light and never return to the Tory fold. It is an illusion which has cost the labour party dear in the past, and it will do so again when the Prime Minister finally becomes convinced by his own rhetoric about forging a "new" Britain and starts listening to false prophets such as Mr Gray.

5). He exposes this popular drink packaging for what it is. Tap water is cheaper, just as clean or cleaner, and definitely more friendly to the The scale of the Conservative general election defeat was a funcenvironment. In some countrie tion of sleaze, division and incompewhere lap water is not clean, the tence. Mr Gray's knowledge of choice is difficult. I acknowledge political history, not to mention that in some countries bottled wal some of the early experiences of the may be safer, but proper disposal present government and the perforthe plastic containers is essential. mance of some Labour-run local authorities, should disabuse him of Western countries where tap water is safe, bottled water, besides being the notion that these problems are a con, is an unnecessary threst to confined to any one political party, our fragile environment. let alone to the Conservative creed. Mark Stockwell. Heather Noble. Launceston, Tasmania, Australia

LARGELY agreed with John Gray's analysis of the sociological party's historic decline. However, could he please explain how some such as advising the oil companies to sue Greenpeace and authorisin MI5 to crack down on benefit fraud. contribute to the "reinvention of lib-

Tom Walkinson, Montpellier, France

IF I hear New Labour utter the word "modern" one more time I GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Communists back VOUR piece makes it sound a Y though the Australian prime down over budget minister, John Howard, has let god the tiller (October 5). Not so, The

NEWS ANALYSIS Celestine Bohlen in Rome

Communist Refoundation party brought about the collapse of prime minister Romano Prodi's cenre-left government, arguing that its tight-fisted, pro-Europe policies were a betrayal of the working classes and

a sop to globalised capitalism.
On Monday, the same hardline communists were beating a sheepsh retreat. They reopened talks that will probably restore Mr Prodi to power and leave his 1998 budget intact. The only concession expected is a pledge to follow the example of France's Socialist government and explore legislation reducing the legal working week

from 39 to 35 hours. What then was this crisis about? After 55 governments in five decades. Italians are used to the mini-dramas built into their political system. But this time seemed different, because many Italians were upset at the prospect of losing ranges from liberal Catholics to excommunists — that seemed to be loing a good job.

For the leaders of the Communist refoundation party, bringing down the government was a gamble that may end up as a kamikaze mission. instead of being hailed as heroes in a struggle to protect Italy's generous pension and health care systems, the party and its leaders were roundly criticised last weekend for being obstructionist, outdated and

Last Sunday, the party's leader, Fausto Bertinotti, was even booed when he joined a march for world peace in Assisi, the earthquake stricken pilgrimage site that lies within Italy's "Red triangle".

The same verdict was delivered in an avalanche of political commentary in Italian newspapers. The Refoundation party made the government fall, but in so doing, it prefigured its own virtual political demise," Edmondo Berselli said i La Stampa of Turin.

Yet even though its leaders' stratbackfired, the party represents constituency that cannot be ored, not even by a bruised Mr Prodi, a centrist who heads the first eft-leaning government elected in taly since the second world war.

The backbone of his coalition. he Democratic Party of the Left, he larger, more moderate wing of | - New York Times

HE options for maintaining

Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, as political uncertainty

continues in Serbia and Monte-

negro, the republics that make up

Mr Milosevic's ruling alliance lost

control of the Serbian parliament

after elections on September 21. His

candidate for the Serbian presi-

dency, Zoran Lille, also lost to the

ultra-nationalist Radical, Vojislav

Sesell, in this month's presidential

control are declining for the

IT IS hardly a paradox that the French spend less time than the Karen Coleman in Beigrade

Ste Jean-de-Losne, France The Guardian

meal is at midday.

G Brotherton.

October 19, 1997 Vol 157 No 18 Copyright © 1997 by Quardian Publication Ltd., 118 Farringdon Road, London. United Kingdom, Ali rights rearred. Annual subscription rates are \$49 United Kingdom; \$55 Europa Inc. Ets. USA ans. Kingdom, 255 Europa lite. Canada; 263 Reat of World. Letters to the Editor and other editorist correspondence to: The Guardian Wash. 75 Farringdom Road, London Editi 310. Fex: 44-171-242-0985 (UK 0171-242)88 e-mail: weakly@guardian.co.uk

Italy's once-mighty Communist party. But in the arithmetic of the Italian left, the unrepentant communists in Mr Bertinotti's party of factory workers and radical intellectuals are still needed for consensus.

In Italy's last national elections, in April 1996, the Democratic Party of the Left won 21.1 per cent of the vote, while Communist Refoundation won 8.6 per cent. Together, those numbers add up to the constituency represented by Italy's old Communist party, the largest in

western Europe until it split in 1991. Mr Bertinotti and his supporters have been trying to paint their more moderate former comrades as a party that has forsaken principles for power. Until now, Communist Refoundation has stayed resolutely out of the governing coalition. choosing instead a middle course that allowed it to lend - or withhold - the support of its 34 parliamen tary deputies.

Without those votes, Mr Prodi's government was doomed to fall, which is what happened on Thursday last week when Communist Refoundation kept true to its pledge to oppose the government's \$2.9 billion cuts in pensions and health care.

But in bringing down the Prodi government, the party found itself up against a consensus in Italy that in recent years has proved stronger than any other; an overwhelming commitment to join Europe when i introduces the euro, its propose common currency, in 1999, Italy's pro-Europe sentiments have consistently proved to be among the strongest on the Continent, despite the pain caused in recent years by

successive belt-tightening budgets. During his 17 months in office, Mr Prodi, a 57-year-old economics professor and former manager of Italy's largest state-owned holding company, has made joining Europe his overriding goal, and his success could be vouched for by the chorus of regret heard last week from other European leaders.

On Monday night, emerging from a new round of talks with President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, Mr Prodi - who prides himself on an even temper that is at times almost erene — was again optimistic. The country will be able to

esume its march toward Europe, and our economy its progress toward recovery," he said, as he oredicted an announcement on Tuesday of a new agreement with the Communist Refoundation party.

is sure when it should occur.

Another Milosevic loyalist.

Momir Bulatovic, failed to win an

outright victory in Montenegro's presidential election on October 5.

He faces a tough battle on Sunday

against Milo Djukanovic, a bitter op-

The most glaring result from

Serbia's elections was the increase

in support for the Radicals. Mr

ponent of Mr Milosevic.

English in preparing their evenues are likely experience and their execution in the preparing their evenues are likely experience and their execution in the preparing their evenues are likely experience and their experience are likely experience are likely experience and their experience are likely experience and their experience are likely experience are likely experience and their experience are likely experience are

an Traynor

THE Muslims of Srebrenica, sur-

vivors of the worst single slaugh-

er in Europe since the second world

war, have exacted a little revenge on

the Serb nationalists who seized

their homes by winning the local

According to media reports and

the Organisation for Security and

Co-operation in Europe last week,

Srebrenica exiles driven from the

region towards the end of the

Bosnian war in July 1995 voted for

Muslim parties who won an ab-

solute majority of local council

A coalition of Muslim parties led

by the Democratic Action Party of

Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic

won 25 of the 45 seats in the elec-

tion on September 13 and 14. while

the Serblan nationalist zealots who

control the east Bosnian town

For most of the 42-month conflict,

Serb artillery, tanks and troops kept

the majority Muslim town Isolated

under the war's worst siege before

pounding it into submission in July

While tens of thousands of Mus-

lims were allowed to escape, about

gained the other 20.

two years ago.

council election last month.

valid. A new election will be held, pealed more than his politics of nationalist extremis but the rules are vague and no one Unless the authoritarian Mr Milosevic can manipulate the electoral crisis to suit himself, he faces being edged out of politics.

Three factors are likely to influence Mr Milosevic's fate. One is the formation of the new Serbian government. Mr Milosevic can form a government dependent on the cooperation of either of the two main opposition parties. But he may find himself a hostage to the demands of promises of a better economy and | Draskovic and his Serbian Renewal

presidency on October 19, Mr | year-old boy killed in one of its Milosevic will be in trouble, with a staunch rival eager to weaken his

7.000 Muslim men are believed to

have been murdered by Serb forces under General Ratko Mladic.

leader, Radovan Karadzic, have

been indicted by the war crimes tri

bunal in The Hague for genocide

tims are still unable to return to

Serbs. It is not clear, however

whether the Muslim poll victory in

Srebrenica will make it much easier

Other poll results disclosed

showed that the main Muslim party

had also won in the southern town

of Foca, another site of Serb atroci-

ties against Muslims during the

In Brcko, the United States ad

ministrator on Monday ordered that

its now-Serb police force admit Croats and Muslims, in a move to

re-establish the multi-ethnic character of the hotly contested town. The decree from Robert Farrand calls

for a multi-ethnic police force by the

end of the year. It is based on elec-

tion results, which showed six

different parties and coalitions win-

ning seats in city hall, but none with

for the exiled voters to go home.

their homes, now occupied by

Survivors and relatives of the vic-

and crimes against humanity.

Both Gen Mladic and his political

lomeless survivors of Hurricane Pauline reach for relief supplies

seing handed out by the Mexican army in Acapulco. Pauline, which

hit Mexico's Pacific coast last week, killed more than 200 people.

of thousands homeless and hundreds missing PHOTO MATINS RECARD

Bosnia Muslims win revenge

The third is Kosovo where ethnic-Albanian students have been holding demonstrations to regain access to university buildings in Pristina. The Serbian province's majority population of 2 million ethnic Albanians has been ruled by a tiny number of Sorbs.

 The hardline Bosnian Serb leader Moracilo Krajisnik howed to international pressure for a delay in Seselj's party doubled its seats in himself a hostage to the demands of parliamentary elections due this the parliament. Analysis say his Mr Seselj and the Radicals or Vuk autumn after meeting Mr Milosevic, who mediated in a dispute between run-off, although a less than 50-per improvements in the payments of turnout made the election in pensions and social benefits ap The second factor is Monte president, Biljana Plavaic. Mr Kralisnik and the Bosnian Serb

The Week

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 3

C ANADA reinstated visa restrictions on the Czech Republic in an attempt to discourage immigration by Gypsies from that country after more than 1.200 arrived this year, mostly in the last two months, eeking protection as refugees.

THE former head of the FBI's violent crime squad, Michael Kahoe, was jailed for 18 months for trying to conceal damning evidence on a 1992 shoot-out between the "feds" and a white supremacist militiaman in Idaho

THE US army is to courtmartial Sergeant Major Gene Mckinney, the service's top enlisted man, on sexual harnssment charges brought against ilm by six female servicewomen

W IN TIN, a close ally of the Burmese democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been mprisoned by the military regime for the past eight years, as been sent to hospital with serious heart problems, democrat

THE Belgian prime minister, Jean-Luc Dehaene, announced sweeping changes to he police and judicial services following a string of investigative blunders culminating in the country's paedophile scandal.

AWYERS representing plaintiffs in the trial of Maurice Papon in France for crimes against humanity are to appeal against a judge's decision to allow the former Vichy official to live outside prison during

BRITAIN defended its right to bring the Lockerbie bomb suspects to trial on its own terms and rejected a Libyan demand that the World Court intervene in arguments over the long-stalled case.

S USPECTED Muslim rebels massacred up to 54 people near Algeria's main oil and gas hub in the Oran region. Most of the victims had their throats cut and their bodies mutilated.

C HRYSLER, the US's third-largest car maker, was ordered by a South Carolina jury to pay a record \$260 million

ORE than 150,000 Cubans queued in Havana to pay their last respects to the legendary guerrilla Ernesto "Cho" Guevara, whose remains were recently returned from Bolivia. Le Monde, page 13 Washington Post, page 16

OHN DENVER, a master of melodic folk-pop who had a number of hits in the early 1970s, died when the light plane he was flying crashed in California. He was 53.



Row defused on Queen's India visit

Suzanne Goldenburg In Amritser

RITAIN and India on Mon-day hastened to smooth over an apparent faux pas overshadowing a pilgrimage by the Queen to the holiest shrine of the Sikhs and the the scene of one of the worst atrocities of the Raj.

Indian newspapers reported last weekend that the prime minister, Inder Kumar Gujral, had said Britain was a "third rate power" poking its nose in, in response to reported remarks by the UK Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, that Britain had a historic duty to mediate in the dispute between India and Pakistan

The two men held a private meeting, described as cordial, and statements were issued by both

SA ex-police

chief denies

orders to kil

Paul Harris in Cape Town

they were being carried out.

made his reported remarks in Islamabad, capital of Pakistan, last week. when the Queen also urged the two countries to settle their differences. His statement was read to journalists as a 21-gun salute for the Queen at New Delhi's presidential palace boomed in the background.

In Amritsar, in preparation for the Queen's visit on Tuesday, Punjab police arrested protesters outside the Golden Temple and the walled garden of Jallianwala Bagh, where the Queen laid a wreath to 379 Indians shot by British troops during a demonstration in 1919.

Families of the dead had demanded an official apology, which was not be forthcoming. However, S K Mukherjee, secretary of the trust that looks after the garden, said: "I think when the Queen is

disowning the reports. Mr Cook | having one minute's silence, that is | self-evident apology."

At the temple, freshly white-washed and bedecked with tinsel, many were waiting in unadulterated delight. When the Queen - unlike ordinary mortals who go barefoot - walked the marble floors in socks provided by the temple, she was cheered by 25 Sikhs who had flown from Britain for the occasion.

Others have tried to link the visit to a review of the entire colonial era. The visit should open up an opportunity for introspection on the last 150 years," said Rajmohan Singh, a lecturer and the nephew of a Sikh evolutionary who was hanged by

However, displeasure at the Queen's visit was apparent when a few protesters accompanied her first day of engagements.

made their reported comments in private - Mr Gujral while chatting during a visit to Cairo, and Mr Cook while with the Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif, "I gave no interview, press conference or public statement on Kashmir while in Pakistan." Mr Cook said. "The long and close ties between our two countries

are based on mutual respect."

His hour-long meeting with Mr Gujral was described as cordial and constructive. However, the Indian foreign ministry said Kashmir and India-Pakistan relations were not discussed.

That same caution was exercised when Mr Mukherjee showed the Queen around the garden. 'They told us: You can show each and every thing, but don't show her the bullet marks left behind'," he said.

tarmland

Andrew Maldrum in Harare

7 IMBABWE'S President Robert Mugnbe said on Monday that his government would not compo-sate white farmers for land i planned to take to resettle those sands of peasants. "We are going to take the land and we are not going to pay a cent to any soul," M Mugabe was quoted as saying by

Mr Mugabe has in the my threatened to seize whiteomed commercial farms without compensating the owners, but his govern ment has so far desisted from doing so. It has earmarked vast tracts of property under a controversial 1992 law that gives it power forcibly to

Mr Mugabe told a meeting of his Zanu-PF party and traditional lest 2 ers in the southern province d Matabeleland that Zimbabwes ke mer colonial master, Britain, shod compensate the farmers as British settlers had seized the land from the local people without paying forit? the British government wants us to compensate its children, it augive us the money or it does to compensation itself," he said.

Mr Mugabe said his government did not have the money to pay i the farmland, adding that he wood discuss the issue with the Britis orime minister, Tony Blair, at th commonwealth heads of state me: ing in Scotland next week.

Memwhile poorly paid ian labourers have launched a ware strikes that has brought the comthat started in eastern Zimbaba biggest disruption to large-state farming since independence carn as little as \$30 a month, arede

nunding \$650. "We have been downtrodden!" a road in the Headlands area east the capital, Harare. "Zimbabwe'st rights. We want better pay so of

amilies can live better." There are about 350,000 are workers, making them Zimbab ng tobacco, tea, coffee or m

to seize white

and agencies

the official news agency, Ziana.

take the land.

try's commercial farming second its knees. The countryside has been hit by two weeks of work stopping and then spread to the northernal central regions. Thousands w singing, chanting workers have also blocked highways for days. It is the 1980, The workers, some of when

largest single group of employed Togother with their families he number more than 2 million and is in often squalid conditions on by usually white-owned farms profit

peaceful, but there have best solated reports of workers buriet. farm vehicles. There have also a few incidents in which white to ing families have been thresters But no serious injuries have been

reported. "We all like to think that it happen on our farm because

pices of the General Agradus and Plantation Workers Union Zimbabwe. But union official of tration gets under way.

Zimbabwe

long," shouted one striker blocks dependent. We can stand up for ou

The strikes have been mish

workers are well treated and loss said one farmer's wife. "But it is pening on every farm, even our The strikes began under the

now trying to persuade into strikers to return to work white

TAFF on the 10th floor of the as Hong Kong's leader on July 1, targets the teaching of history as the

Chiap Hing industrial build-ing in Hong Kong are busy with pens and pencils re-tailoring accounts of the 19th century oplum war, Chiang Kai-shek's 1949 retreat Talwan, and other episodes in Chinese history. "It is a real bother but we have

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

referred to as a neighbouring counmake adjustments," explained try. All this has to change," Augustine Chow, manager of Every-Fanning this desire for change man's Book Company, a leading publisher of textbooks for Hong was a recent opinion poll by the Unlversity of Hong Kong. It showed Kong's schools, "Hong Kong is now that 60 per cent of those surveyed felt no pride in their new status as A store room is piled to the ceil-

Chinese nationals.

revised five-volume survey of China | week, Mr Tung combined a multi-since 1766 BC. | week, Mr Tung combined a multi-billion dollar programme of new learn of only one China, governed Tung Chee-hwa, who replaced Britain's last governor Chris Patten road and rail links between the for-

mer British colony and the rest of China with demands that Hong Kong end its mental isolation from key to promoting Chinese patriothe mainland. "For every individual tism. He said last weekend: "Until there is a gradual process of getting July 1, the opium war was referred to know Chinese history and culto as a trade dispute, and China was ture so as to achieve a sense of belonging," he said. But whose version of Chinese his-

tory? Pupils studying Everyman's new textbooks will no longer learn how Mao Zedong's 1949 revolution split the nation into a communistrun mainland - the People's Republic of China - and the Nationalist-ruled Taiwan, the Re-

by Beijing. Taiwan no longer has a government" but "authorities". Britain's image is also revised

Everyman's pre-handover edition explained how Qing dynasty restrictions on trade in the 19th century "naturally aroused the dissatisfaction of foreign traders and created many disagreements and clashes". The new version emphasises "Britain's disregard for justice and its desire to flood China with large amounts of high-price oplum in search of profit".

Like most aspects of post-colonial Hong Kong, the re-writing of his-

tion department circular bans the use of terminology that violates the dogma of "one China", but the final choice of textbooks is up to schools.

Unlike Japan, Singapore and the rest of China, Hong Kong allows the free market to repackage the past. Mr Chow shows off a copy of his firm's old history textbook filled with annotations recommending that passages be amplified, trimmed or cut.

Fears that Beijing would rush to mpose a comic-book communist clarity on the muddle left by historians have largely faded. Probably more worrying are Hong Kong's own spontaneous accommodations.

"The problem is not the central government telling us what to do. but people here . . . pandering to what they think Beijing wants us to do," said Chan Hon-sum, a leader of tory has few guidelines. An educa- the Professional Teachers' Union.

Family of

ing with the firm's new and entirely

Kathy Evans

part of China."

THE Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, showed what hapnens to anyone who defects from his regime or plots to kill him when he executed 14 senior nilitary officers and members of his ruling Ba'ath Party recently.

Many were former associates members of the same clan as eneral Wafie Samurrai, a former lragi minister of military atelligence who fled the country three years ago, joined the opposition group the Iraqi National ongress, and sought asylum in

like the general, most of the executed officers were from the raqi town of Samara, 125km orth of Baghdad. Eight shared e general's family name.

The officers were arrested on ecember 14, days after an ssassination attempt on resident Saddam's son, Uday. n the wake of the shooting, the esident planned to travel to his home town of Aluja where he aintains a palace for his family. The officers had planned to kill ilm there, said Iraqi opposition

It is not the first time that the resident has wiped out the fam lies of his opponents, ensuring hat few Iraqia risk opposing his egime. The elderly parents of and Ahmed, the Iraqi veightlifter who carried his untry's flag at the Olympic ames, were arrested after he lefected last year. Nothing has een heard of his father since.

don general, Talai Obeidi, heard that three of his brothers had ocen executed, and his mother, lather, wife and one-year-old child had been jailed for life.

Commenting on the latest xecutions, Gen Samurrai said n London: "One of them was my cousin, another was head of my personal bodyguard at the military intelligence ministry. Others had been my friends since childhood."

The families have been forbiden by the regime to hold any public ceremonles at the funerals of the executed men.

Samara is known throughout. raq as the country's most important source of military and ntelligence service officers.

defector executed

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"India complements China because the two are different. Until their economies become integrated. their business cycles will continue to move independently. In this hare-and-tortoise contest, it is a good idea to place bets on both beasts."

Jim Rowher, "Asia Rising"

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"Source: Micropal, Offer to offer, gross income relevasted, in USS, 1.1.97 — 1.10.97. Since isome performance: China Fund (15.1.96): 144.85%; Madyas Indian Equity Fund (13.11.96): 11.40%, †Published by Nicholas Breatey Publishing. Past performance is not necessarily a guide to the future, Fluctuations in the value of the underlying securities and the income from them and changes in interest and exchange raise mean that the value of these investments and the income from them den fall as well as rise and are and exchange raise mean that the value of these investments and the income from them den fall as well as rise and are and extrement rise in China and incleases significantly higher than in more developed markets, whilst accounting, regulatory and logal standards are significantly lower, Minimum Investment; 22,000/US\$3,000. For your proteotion talephone calls may be recorded, issued by Quinness Flight Hamkro Asent Management Limited, required to MMO and the Personal Investment. Authority.

ATOP apartheld-era police official admitted last week that police used words such as "eliminate" and "neutralise" in their commands, but insisted they were not orders to kill. The former police commissioner. Johan van der Merwe, told a hearing into apartheid-cra abuses that the white government's state security council had never issued instructions that resulted in gross numan rights violations, but knew Mr van der Merwe said he interpreted the words "eliminate" and "neutralise" in an order to mean arlescue workers roll over a stranded pilot whale in northern New Zealand ao a sling can be litted to help

rest and detain a suspected antiapartheid terrorist, but he conceded the orders could easily have been misinterpreted. "Police on the ground . . . in a life-and-death struggle could have seen [the word eliminate] as an order to kill," he said. Mr van der Merwe was teatifying

on the third day of special hearings by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate abuses by the security forces of the previous white-minority government and the armed wings of the black liberation novements seeking to overthrow it.

The panel, set up to heal wounds from the apartheid era, has also been holding separate hearings to listen to victims' testimony and to consider applications for anmesty. Mr van der Merwe's application for amnesty will be considered separately.

Earlier, Major Craig Williamson, a police spy for the white government luring the 1970s and 1980s, said nolice officers' overriding concern had been not to get caught doing anything illegal. The 11th commandment was well known . . . Thou shalt not be found out'," he said.

Mai Williamson admitted hombing anti-apartheid activists and said that top police officials had always sought to distance themselves from covert actions.

 Winnie Mandela faced the Commission for the second time on Monday as closed-door hearings resumed on allegations of her involvement in crimes, including eight murders. Last month the commission agreed — at her insistence to hold open hearings to enable her | tion" in repatriating Mr Sheinto defend herself publicly. But it in- | bein. Mr Netanyahu reportedly sisted on confidential hearings first. | replied that the suspect would

US murder suspect holds up Israeli aid

W NITED STATES senators have blocked \$180 million in aid to Israel as a result of a diplomatic row over the fate of an American schoolboy, aged 17, wanted for the murder and dismemberment of another teenager in Maryland.

Samuel Sheinbein fled to Israel after being charged with the killing of Alfredo Enriqu Tello, aged 19, whose badly charred body was found last month without arms and legs in an empty garage. Police found a circular power saw and several cylinders of propage gas near

Mr Sheinbein's lawyers claimed that he qualified as an sraeli citizen because his father had lived there and so could not be extradited under Israeli law.

The US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, recently sent a letter to the Israeli prime minister. Binyamin Netanyahu, requesting "maximum co-opera-

prove Israeli citizenship. budgeted aid to Israel, the

reported on Monday that the next year's budget had been passed in full by Congress.

in aid if Israel refuses to agree t The row over the Maryland teenager has compounded other sources of US-Israeli friction, including the attempted assassina tion last month of a Palestinian exile in Jordan by Mossad, the Israeli secret service, and Mr

ment of Efrat. Palestinians vehemently oppose the building of houses for

not be extradited if he could

In response, the Senate foreign aid aub-committee has blocked the scheduled transfer of \$180 million, which was to tave been an advance on 1998's biggest recipient of US foreign assistance. Israeli newspapers payment had been held up until

Congress is also reported to be weighing up several other initiatives to cut up to \$1.2 billion

Netanyahu's surprise announce ment earlier this month that 300 more Jewish homes would he built in the West Bank settle-

Jews on the West Bank and Gaza, which they want to become

an independent state. The prime minister made the mouncement without consultng Mrs Albright who had called for a confidence-building "timeout" from settlement building during a visit to Israel only days earlier. She was reported to have been furious and has since refused to take calls from Mr Netanyahu.

Last week, Israell, Palcstinian and US officials had cautiously welcomed a "fresh start" for the Middle East peace process after Mr Netanyahu held a snap summit with the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat.

Meanwhile the scandal surounding the botched assassination attempt has reasserted its grip on Mr Netanyahu, as his foreign minister, David Levy, threatened to resign and a former secret service chief pulled out of an inquiry into the affair. Mr Levy said that he had not been consulted on the decision

Comment, page 12 Washington Post, page 15 ohn Hooper in Rome

HE way Dario Fo learnt he

Autosole to record a show in Milan.

They were nearing Orvieto when

a fast car loaded with reporters

drew alongside. The starlet, who

was at the wheel, tried to ignore

them. Then one gestured to Fo and

held up a handwritten card. "You've

Within minutes, playwright, star-

et and journalists were downing

champagne in the unlikely setting of

"I was astounded," Fo said later. The writer of Accidental Death Of An Anarchist and Can't Pay? Won't

Pay! suffered a stroke last year that partially blinded him, but the Swedish academy that awards the

prize said: "With a blend of laughter

and gravity, he opens our eyes to

It was therefore not until some

eight hours later that the new laure

ate reached his destination, where

another, bigger contingent of re-

porters was waiting to ask him -

among other things — what he would do with the cash.

"I've already decided." Fo said

The money would go towards trying

to free three men whose grim fate i

bound up inextricably — and maybe

even a bit uncomfortably - with his

Given lavish extra funding and

backing from the world's latest liter-

ay Nobel, their continued impris-

cament is set to become an

Anarchist deals with a true event.

On December 15, 1969, one Pino

Pinelli fell to his death from an

upper storey of the police headquar

lers in Milan. At the time Pinelli was

being interrogated about a fatal

international cause célèbre. Fo's Accidental Death Of An

most famous work.

abuses and injustices in society."

won the Nobel," it said.

a motorway service station.



Martin Kettle

HAT is it about being president of the United States that makes the man who lives in the White House think that | a limit to the number of times one it is either advisable or desirable to record his every conversation and his every meeting for posterity?

This is not a delusion that afflicts those of us who are not, never have been, and never will be presidents. Ordinary mortals know only too well that home movies are best forgotten or only revealed to trusted intimates. Presidents, though, seem ready to dismiss all such embarrassment from their consideration. They remain sublimely confident that the rules that apply to us do not apply to them. They are free of all doubt that generations as yet unborn will want to hear what they said to the undersecretary for agriculture, or to see them with the foreign minister of Uzbekistan, or shaking hands with Barry Manilow.

One might suppose that, with Richard Nixon's Imperishable example in their minds, even the most unimpeachable president might camera never lies. For although the think twice about offering such a | Clinton videos - and there could

massive hostage to fortune. But no. The siren call of a place in history

Granted, they show Clinton's matchless ability to work a room of his own supporters, and they convey a glimpse of the sycophancy which those supporters seem instinctively to adopt towards a president on such occasions. But there's wants or needs to know about Clinton's golling prowess or his weight common currency of these ses-

switched of f. Reno said that the delay in providing Justice Department investigators with the videotapes had frustrated and angered her. And her comments marked an extraordinary public critique of the White House at a time when both Clinton and fund-raising activities.

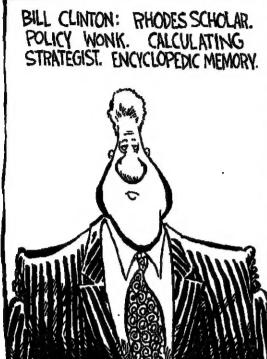
In a funny way, the tapes reveal the truth of the old adage that the

seems simply irresistible

What else can explain the videotapes of Bill Clinton, which were released to an unsuspecting world, and to his own unsuspecting attorney general, Janet Reno, last week? For those 44 tapes of a series of fund-raising morning coffee sessions, filmed by the so-called White House Communications Agency (an outfit that employs no fewer than 100 people for the purpose) serve little immediately discernible purpose for the president.

loss, the topics that appear to be the sions. Of course, we would like to know what goes on when the doors close and the politicians get down to business, but that is precisely the point at which the cameras are

Vice-President Al Gore are the subjects of justice department inquirles that could lead to independent counsel investigations of their



be at least another hundred of them still to come - are both fascinating and banal, these are qualities which could also be applied more generally to the Clinton presidency.

More than 20 years ago, the Nixon White House tapes revealed an administration that was paranoid. grotesque and vindictive. The tapes did indeed tell the truth, and the truth, in the end, was what destroyed the Nixon presidency. Iwenty years on, the truth is unikely to destroy Clinton, for the simple reason that the Clinton administration's obsessions are not unlawful. But the tapes are embarrassing none the less. Clinton would have been better off without them.

Paradoxically, this is not a conclusion that one can draw about yet another set of White House tapes that have finally just seen the light of day. President Lyndon Johnson yielded little to Nixon in the paranoia stakes, and in some ways

Though Nixon's voice-activated system yielded roughly 3,700 hours f recordings taken between 1971 and 1973, Johnson taped his presidency from its tragic beginning until its tragic end, a total of 9,500 conversations over nearly five and half years, the whole running to some 643 hours. He even had the tapes running on his first traumatic day as president, recording his calls from Air Force One as it flew back from Dallas to Washington with the bleeding body of the slain Jack Kennedy aboard.

And yet the Johnson tapes - the first tranche of which have now been published in the US* - tell another set of truths, at once monstrous and yet with an irresistible grandeur. Anyone who has read the two volumes of Robert Caro's masterly but unfinished biography of LIS will not nced telling that Johnson was a truly awesome political operator. But what

the reader of Caro cannot fully know - because this mighty blography has not reached the years of pour and fame covered by the new book is how LBI not only schemed and bludgeoned his way to power but also

how he used that power to achieve so

much for America's poor and Amer-

VIDEOS? WHAT VIDEOS?

ica's blacks. Johnson was destroyed by Vietnam, and so was his reputation. Yet as time passes his standing his grown. The LBJ tapes, while to bsolving him from his Vietnam policy, will enhance that standing still further. Perhaps, after all, such lapes do tell the truth. But whether this is good or bad news for Bil

Taking Charge: the Johnson White House Tapes 1963-1964, edited and with commentary by Michael R Beschloss (Simon & Schuster, \$30). The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis is reviewed on page to

Clinton, it is too soon to tell.

bombing three days earlier.

Fo believed Pinelli had — in the grisly alang of the time — been sui model intends, nor a clearer delicinge to the free-market "Ange" that the anarchists were being made tracted by their soul-searching precise list of what the European Europe is rooted in treaties with had been plotted by the intelligence force of international law that in services and committed by the expast have compelled Britain to br corporal punishment in school.

That much is well enough known.

France to reform its phone-taping What is less well known is that the rules and Italy to require access police officer in charge of Pinelli's lawyers for those accused by interrogation was later murdered.

state.

Founded in 1949, the Cound of Europe has long played the role of the canary down the mine. It is the canary down the m

bation before being appendent in the passed in the European Union.

Nato and the European Union.

There are tests to be passed.

I defiwing group came forward to conjudgments to be made, and is fess his role in the murder.

Leonardo Marino is nowadays general, Daniel Tarschys: "All (D) the owner of a roadside caravant those who have been the owner of a roadside caravant.

general, Daniel Tarschys: "All all the owner of a roadside caravanrope is here except those who have a continued themselves by shown ing democratic principles to the south of La Spezia. But, as Improbable as it seems, back in the days when Italy was being torn spart by main under grudging and which better in this forum that he sufferance, as if to be inspired by sufferance, as if to be inspired by sufferance, as if to be inspired by sufferance as if the sufferance as it seems, back in the coast in the days when Italy was being torn spart by sufferance as it seems, back in the coast in the days when Italy was being to the coast in the

Marino went further. He incrimi-nated three others: Ovidio Bom- freedom in return and whose testi-mony was shot through with incon-ing a pardon for Sofri and his erstpressi who - he said - pulled the had won the Nobel Prize for Literature was all of a piece trigger, and two of the leaders of Lotta Continua, Giorgio Pietrostefani and Adriano Sofri, who - he with his wacky comedy. He and one of lialy's best-known television starclaimed - had ordered the killing. lets had set off from Rome up the Last January, after a characteristically tortuous and lengthy passage

> more than 20 years. As things stand, they will all die in jail. Yet the manner of their con-Fo's black farces.

They were found guilty on the

viction could have come from one of

through the Italian courts, the three

men were each given sentences of

have applied to the crime. Sofri, in particular, had long since

uncorroborated word of a single witness who had been promised his

sistencies. The key items of evidence, the bullets and the get-away car, had been destroyed. The verdict came just four months before the statute of limitations would

become a model citizen. He was a teacher and writer of repute and had recently won the gratitude of his government for negotiating the release of three Italians held hostage by guerrillas in the Russian separatist region of Chechenia, A hundred and fifty thousand Italians have put their signatures to a petition, got up by a former president of

It has attracted an extraordinarily broad range of supporters, from leftwing singers to rightwing politi-The three men say they want a re-

trial: they insist that they cannot be pardoned for something they never did. But, in a system that can scarcely cope with the normal flow of work, securing a retrial is a daunting task and could take years.

To try to force the pace, Sofri and his fellow inmates have announced that they are preparing a hunger strike to the death. Many of their backers are appalled, convinced



Dario Fo: astounded by win

hat a hunger strike would under mine their cause, bringing back evil memories of the revolutionary left's coercive factics in the 1970s.

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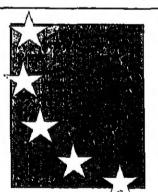
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⁄eltsin's	big	idea	startles	Strasbourg
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Europe this week Martin Walker

BORIS YELTSIN came to the Council of Europe summit in Strasbourg last week to earol Russia in a new legal regime of human rights with a single court whose powers will stretch from Belfast to Vladivostok, part of a subtle embrace that also seeks to establish a "distinctive European social model" across the continent. But he also took the opportunity to launch a startling new diplomatic initiative whose implications could be pro-

President Yeltsin snubbed the British and startled most of the lead-ers at the European summit by an-British diplomatic sources told the in power or not otherwise dis-

nouncing a regular new process of Germany, France and Russia as a keystone of what President Jacques Chirac and the Russian leader agreed would be "Big Europe". Despite his hopes of a leading European role and his hearty welcome at the Kremlin earlier in the week. Tony Blair was left out of the plan, which was agreed at a tête à tête dinner between the French and Russian presidents on the eve of the Council of Europe summit, and was later backed by

"We have agreed in principle to hold these meetings, which are indispensable to the creation of Big Europe with Russia. It will be a vast territory of liberty, of democracy, Yeltsin said. "We'll meet once a year, and we have not decided where. I will go wherever Jacques [Chirac] wants, or where Helmut

[Kohl] invites us." A classic Yeltsin surprise, but given serious weight by the public endorsement of Chirac at a joint press conference, the proposal for a new Big Three summit process had diplomats scrambling to establish what this might portend. Britain was taken wholly off-guard by the plan, as were Italy and Poland

Guardian: "We enjoy very close relationships with Russia, France and Germany, and these meetings are a matter for them. We'll have to study what Yeltsin said, and ask him about it."

Having been invited into the Council of Europe as a reassurance that Russia was not being isolated, Yeltsin appears to have established serious links with France and Germany that may mollify those Russian nationalists still outraged by the expansion of the Nato alliance up to Russia's borders. In return, by jointed Russia to accept the rule of law and a new and distinctive European social model.

The wide-ranging ambitions of the Council, long dismissed as a diplomatic talking-shop, won a powerful endorsement in Strasbourg. Blair, Kohl and Chirac gathered with Yeltain and 36 other European leaders in "a summit to consolidate democracy". While they formally endorsed a series of new social codes, from gender equality to joint action against or-ganised crime and drug abuse, from a ban on human cloning to protection for ethnic minorities, the broader agenda of "social Europe" would have infuriated Britain's Tory party, had they been

conference in Blackpool. "The Council of Europe seems to me to be the organisation best placed to elaborate a European

social model, in defence of social rights and social cohesion," said Leni Fischer, the president of its parliamentary assembly, which i the member states. "The Council is now the institu-

tion of reference for human rights; It. should also become the reference for social rights for 800 million

This rhetoric was familiar to Yeltsin. As the old Soviet state human rights record, it usually countered by contrasting the United States model of human rights based on the individual with its own assertion of social rights: the right to a job, to housing and public health care.

The Council of Europe's agenda is now to have both. It did not discomfort Blair to include Britain in a European Social Charter that includes "the right to work, including the right to vocational training . . . the right to social and medical assis-tance, the right to benefit from to protection of health, the right to social security . . . the right to protection against poverty and social exclusion, the right to adequate housing.

Winston Churchill's 1949 case then to the courts, he said is unified European army to the who had driven the car for Gorbachev's evocation of the men who, on the morning of mon European home in Offered a deal by the prosecution summits for the Big Europe and the courts, he said is the men who, on the morning of mon European home. In the courts, he said is the men who, on the morning of mon European home. The courts he said is the month of the courts, he said is the men who, on the morning of mon European home. The courts he said is the men who, on the morning of mon European home. The courts he said is the men who, on the morning of mon European home. The courts he said is the men who, on the morning of mon European home. The courts he said is the men who and driven the car for mon European home. The courts he said is the men who, on the morning of mon European home. The courts had driven the car for mon European home. The courts had driven the car for mon European home. The courts had driven the car for mon European home. The courts had driven the car for mon European home. The courts had driven the car for the courts had driven the car for the courts had driven the car for the car for

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RITAIN will submit a bill of rights to Parliament next

month, finally incorporating the

Human Rights into British law,

Prime Minister Tony Blair said.

A BOUT 200 gay men and women are among 35,000 unmarried couples allowed to

European Convention on

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Murdoch says Diana's death will save his papers money

in Britain than any other proprietor, sparked controversy when he admitted that the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, would save his newspapers money.

Speaking for the first time on the vexed questions of privacy and the use of intrusive paparazzi pictures, Mr Murdoch said he had no regrets that his newspapers had bought such pictures. His only regret was that the publications — including the News of the World and The Sun "paid far too much for them".

Since the death of the princess national newspaper editors, including those employed by Mr Murdoch, have agreed to abide by a stricter code of conduct which will virtually outlaw the use of snatched pictures. They are divided, however, on whether there should be some form of privacy law.

Unsurprisingly Mr Murdoch, who is the biggest of the proprictors, is against any such law which, he argued, would be "a privilege for the already privileged". For the moment, at least, the Government is prepared to give self-regulation a chance, though it will be watching closely to see how the industry reacts to the first serious transgres

sion of the new code. A long-standing reason for the reluctance to legislate has been that a workable act would be difficult to frame and would probably have a rough passage through Parliament. There is now a second reason: that the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, would not want to make enemies of the powerful papers owned by Mr Murdoch, whom he worked so hard to woo before the general election.

BIG BROTHER will be watching the Conservatives, when the House of Commons reassembles, to see whether they make remarks or gestures which offend newlyelected women MPs. 101 of whom are Labour. Many of them have complained of sexist comments and sniggers by six Tory MPs, one said to be a prominent front-bencher.

Janet Anderson, a senior government whip, said Labour had launched an inquiry. This would involve scanning videotapes of the House in session and checking whether sexist comments, not heard by the Speaker, had been picked up by TV microphones.

The remarks vary from 'Get back to the kitchen' to You mus have PMT or 'You're menopausal'," said Ms Anderson, "Some of those Tories just don't think women should be in the House."

Teresa Gorman, a Tory MP, said she had had lots of offensive things said about her "but I took it on the chin". Labour women won't. Offenders who are identified will be reported to the Speaker.

A SUGGESTION by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Bingham, that a royal commission be set up to consider the decriminalisation of soft drugs was flatly rejected by the Home Secretary, Jack Straw.

Lord Bingham made clear that he did not back decriminalisation, but he thought the subject deserved

DUPERT MURDOCH, the media baron credited with doing more to test the limits of press reporting "detached, objective, independent consideration". The Home Secretary responded: "The more I examtary responded: "The more I examine the evidence, I am less and less convinced, if I ever were, of the case

of multiple sclerosis sufferers.

EIL HAMILTON, the disgraced former Tory MP involved in the

register of members' interests.

insisted that he was not going to be made a scapegoat. He accused Sir Gordon of "reinterpreting" the rules on members' interests and said: "If that is the case, there are many other MPs who are in the same boat as me, and I want them to be treated in the same way as me."

Bagshot Park, an imposing Gothic pile in Surrey which Prince Edward, the Queen's youngest son, is to rent as a home for himself and for Ardent Productions, the TV company in which he has an interest.

contribute to a £2 million refurbishment of the property, which comes with 87 acres of fine parkland, The rent is believed to be £300,000 a year. But Ardent has shown losses of £1 million in its first three years. and the prince's only other income Is £96,000 a year from the Queen, which is supposed to be for his private office at Buckingham Palace.

Austin SO.IT'S WHO DARES WINS TO WHO CARES WINS ...

-

The Lord Chief Justice is not alone in his views; several chief constables have also come round to believing that the law needs to be reconsidered. The Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, also said he would consider making cannabis available on prescription for the use

"cash for questions" affair, was due to give evidence this week to the Commons Standards and Privileges Committee, during which he said he would "name names" and give details of others who had broken Commons rules,
Mr Hamilton was found by the

Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards, Sir Gordon Downey, to have "fallen well below the standards expected of an MP" in taking up to £25,000 in cash from Mohammed Al Fayed, the owner of Harrods, and from the lobbyist, Ian Greer, without recording it in the

Deflant throughout, Mr Hamilton

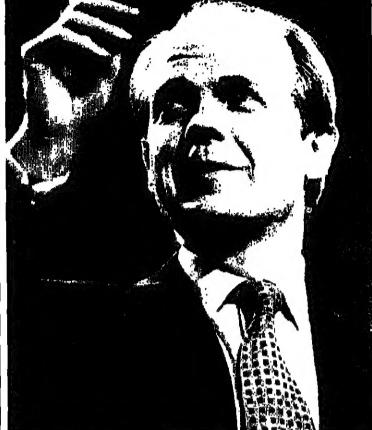
THERE WAS much speculation about who would pay the rent for

Before moving in, the prince will party conference in Blackpool.

party that is able to distinguish be- government's credibility.

SKETCH

Simon Hoggart



Compassionate gesture . . . William Hague spoke of a 'changing went on to criticise the partylastic

Conference in brief

Portillo rewrites Tory way Michael Portillo, the former des minister whose previous confees speeches included bombasiens ences to the SAS military untain ted that the defeated government 18-year rule had ended because people saw the Tories as inhuse: disloyal and selfish. His speeds the tone of a conference market an emphasis on Tory compassion

Blame heaped on MPs In a very public inquestinto the Torics' disastrous general election performance, many speakers at Blackpool denounced the behale

of squabbling and sleaze-riden!

Hague wins reform manda The Tory leader, William Hagus won overwhelming endorseness for his leadership and package internal reforms. The overhauli intended to streamline the party a

Lord Tebbit called for an end with 'divisive force" of multi-culturalis in Britain. He was fiercely rebul: by Mr Hague, but, undaunted he

We care too, says Hague

Michael White

ILLIAM HAGUE last week repackaged the Conservative party as compassionate, tolerant and principled while reassuring traditionalists within the ranks that the new Conservatism will not discard core values of free enterprise, self-reliance and the nation state.

In his first speech as leader since he succeeded John Major in July, Mr Hague moved to regain some of the moral high ground which Tony Blair has made his own. He also launched a sustained assault on New Labour as a slick and cynical

"We have no intention of stooping to a new politics without conscience. Let them stoop — we will conquer, he told 5,000 Tory activists at the

"Conservatives care about right and wrong. I care about right and

HE foetus bas landed. William

Hague's conference speech

might have created something

less than panting ecstasy but it was good enough to establish him

as leader in the Tories' hearts as

well as on the party's letterheads.

tery: how is it that a party which claims to be proud, independent and free can rise adoringly as

one to cheer a young man they'd

barely heard of a year ago, foisted on them against their wishes by a parliamentary party they seem to despise?

Still, Mr. Hague's was a highly

adequate performance, defini-

The speech did leave one mys-

pared to stand up for what it believes — and looks to the long-term future of the country, not its own | their own decisions about hos: | trade minister, Lord Clinton-Davis, short-term interest — is able to | lead their lives" — a coded sckr. in a letter to Ann Clwyd, chairman offer Britain that strong and principled government," he said.

John Prescott, the deputy prime minister, said the conference had proved that the Tories "want to bury Unitcherism, but have absolutely no idea what to put in its place".

The new Tory leadership is waiting to see how radical the Blair government is before reshaping its own policies, and the address gave little away. Mr Hague clung to the "not in the foreseeable future" formula for opposing British membership of the European single currency.

His one significant utterance was his apology to the conference for 20 years to the day after his no the disastrous Thatcher/Major decision to enter the exchange rate mechanism in 1990 — "a great mistake" - which triggered the collapse both of sterling and the

tively not bad, thunderously

The effect was also helped rather than bindered by his plat-

form voice. When he announced

could almost see James Herriot

on a windswept moor, up to his

elbow in a poorly sheep. He played the Yorkshire card

as if it were the ace of spades. "I

was born in Rotherham, Around

Conservative was something you

As a Yorkshireman myself I

find this kind of blatant Tykeism

offensive, creating a stereotype of us as stupid, laconic and rude.

speech was about compassion.

The Tories are now all for it.

The most important part of the

where I lived they thought a

spread on your toastl"

"Conservatives ca-a-a-re" you

A thunderously adequate performance

more or less up to it.

Mr Hagne emphasised the G servative party's "understant. enthood and gay relationship in human rights group.

In the letter, Lord Clinton-Davis The conference listened into

passages about compassion—". at its very core" - but did not quire special licences to be sent pland as he invoked the course | abroad. tional hot-button issues — E equipment, electronics and telecom-pour federalism, Labour wales munications systems, sensors, on defence and municipal is lasers, nuclear equipment, space and the integrity of the United As dom - fared much better.

cious teenage debut in the hall, Mr Hague was rewarded to fing-waving applause that was longed but not euphoric.

Comment, page 12

committee there," Mr Hages

Really? Times must have

changed in the Tory party. 100 loss a Lady Marshall-Pugh, I do 100 a

we can tempt you to our

and buy sale on Saturda

the Somali Leablan and 6

"I'm soo sorry, but tin

port Group wait for no med John Major asked us to the

him because his father well

small businessman; Haget

contrast went into an amis

routine about his father and drink operation: "Such in

known brands as Hagie (Marie Hague Dandelion and Human This gentle self-depretation do him no harm in the first

Britain will meet euro entry criteria

Martin Walker in Luxembourg and Ewen MacAskill RITAIN edged closer to join ing the European single currency on Monday when the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, re-

> meet the entry criteria. Although Mr Brown publicly naintained a wait-and-see approach in private the Government is shifting in favour of the single currency.

leased figures showing it will easily

The Chancellor, releasing Britain's "convergence statement", claimed the country would easily was split over the question. He reaf-qualify for the euro, although "it is firmed that if the Government did

Indonesian arms deal David Hencke and increase grassroots participation John Agilonby in Jakarta

THE Government has approved Tebbit isolated in race or 11 new arms contracts worth millions of pounds to Indonesia following Robin Cook's foreign policy initiative of refusing to sell military quipment to appressive regimes.

The value of the deals far outweighs the Foreign Secretary's high-profile cancellation, just before this month's Labour party conference, of up to £1 million worth of armoured personnel carriers and a onsignment of sniper rifles to the Suharto regime.

Details of the number of new and tolerance of people mate arms deals were released by the halgement that divorce, single; of the all-party parliamentary

says that the Department of Trade to their young leader's muchan and industry has approved 11 new contracts for equipment under the a boll-on extra to Conservation: so-called "military list" which re-

the disabled. His attacks on in. The list covers surveillance vehicles, bombs and animunition. The ministry is declining to dis-

At the end of the speech as close details of the orders which are UK arms fair, page 24

undercuts Cook's line protected by the Official Secrets Act unless companies agree to waive the commercial confidentiality surrounding the deals. Another 44 In-

donesian contracts are being

While entry in 1999 is all bu

ruled out, Tony Blair may opt to go

in soon afterwards. Downing Street

refused to deny that the Prime

Minister would make a statement

clarifying the position at a Luxem-

bourg jobs summit due to be held

Following newspaper reports that

the Treasury was trying to bounce

Mr Blair into a pro-entry decision

Mr Brown denied that the Cabinet

very unlikely we would join in the opt to join it would hold a referen-first wave. There will be formidable dum on the issue.

Peter Lilley, the shadow chancel-

lor, said it was clear that the Gov-

ernment had reached a conclusion

"Before the election, Tony Blair

said he loved the pound and that

he feels emotional when he sees

the Queen's head on a £10 note.

Now it is clear his word is worth

about as much as a £9 note," Mr

Mr Brown, proclaiming the strength of the British economy,

said: "In or out of monetary union,

the UK has set in place in the

on a single currency.

Lilley said.

examined by the ministry.

Lord Clinton-Davis adds: "I hope you will understand that it would be Impractical to inform you of each and every licensing decision in respect of an export to Indonesia. lowever . . . we are committed to the publication of an annual report on UK strategic export controls.

"This will set out the state of export controls and report on their application, in line with our manifesto commitment to increase the transparency and accountability of decisions on export licences for arms."

The disclosure of the new deals renewed the row with Labour backbenchers over the Foreign Secretary's ethical foreign policy.
Ms Clwyd, Labour MP for Cynon

Valley, said: "I am genuinely sad that the Government has gone ahead with these new orders, particularly while the Foreign Office were saying the policy was under review. The ministry's refusal to disclose details also shows the need for a freedom of information act so that the public can be properly informed about government decisions."

Carey sees new spiritualism

HE Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, said this week that the public's reaction to the

Oxfam . . . and you'll probable mumber of churchgoers.

The challenge to the Church of England England was to "adapt and innovate" to harness this faith, he said during a keynote lecture in Ashby-dela-Zouch, Leicestershire. Dr Carey, who comes from the

'ss traditional wing of the Church, ald many Anglican services had a prolonged wordiness" and — in a similar way to Elton John's song at Diana's funeral — could be made hore relevant to the modern world. He said: "I discern a continuing eep respect for the churches when e faith is practised with sincerity; omething of which we saw in the lumbling, astonishing reaction to the death of Diana, Princess of

"Of course, flowers, messages

and the spontaneous outpouring of grief do not by themselves indicate an implicit spirituality. But it was noticeable how many makeshift shrines appeared. And as well as the death of Diana, Princess of Wales | flowers piling up outside Bucking proved that Britain remained deeply ham Palace and St James's Palace, to our cathedrals and churches," He added that the Church

needed to learn lessons from this as Britain approached 2000. "If I am right in painting a picture not antagonistic to any faith but in many cases distant from the claims of organised religion, what does this have to say about the 'way ahead' in mission as we enter this new millen-

He went on to praise the way churches all over the country had reacted to the death. The funeral service . . . had all the dignity and beauty that we associate with Westminster Abbey, but the dean also had the courage to listen to what people were longing for in the midst of their shock; grief and pain."

10.7

Chris Mihili

replacement therapy (HRT) are probably decreasing their chance of early death because of the protective effects of the treatment against heart disease, cancer specialists said last

Some studies showed that

probably no increase in deaths.

The study, carried out by the Imperial Cancer Research Fund (ICRF), concludes that there will be two additional cases of breast cancer per 1,000 women taking HRT for a five-year period. This

sion", he said. apply for their foreign-born part Mr Brown's remarks foreshadners to settle in Britain under owed the Government's intention to changes in the immigration law. make its presidency of the European Union next year focus on job A FORMER computer operator has been awarded a record creation, deregulation and the streamlining of the single market. £358,000 against Lambeth council, London, in what was

course of the last few months the foundations for a period of sustain-

able and long term growth and the

He also presented Britain's own

employment action plan, based on fiob-creating flexibility . . . helping

people from welfare into work . . .

and improving the workings of mar-

kets". Britain wanted to create "a

third way, between rampant free

market economics and stifling over-

regulation, combining economic

German efficiency and social inclu-

ability to create jobs.

nation" it had dealt with. ONDON has a 57 per cent higher burglary rate than New York, according to the Uni-

described by by the Employment

case of persistent racial discrimi-

Appeal Tribunal as the "worst

ROGER BELL, a British soldier serving in Cyprus. was fined \$750 for assaulting two English tourists outside a discothèque in Ayla Napa.

W EST YORKSHIRE Chief Constable Keith Hellawell has been appointed by the Government as Britain's "drugs tsar". He will co-ordinate efforts to tackle drug trafficking and addiction problems.

AJOR Eric Joyce, a serving officer who publicly accused the army of snobbery. racism and sexual discrimination, has been told he is likely to face a court martial.

SIANS in the civil service Aare stuck in the lower ranks throughout their careers because of widespread racial discrimination, according to a new report compiled by the Labour MP Keith Vaz.

N EN aged 15 to 36 living in Plein-Fougères, Brittany, underwent voluntary DNA tests to assist the investigation into the murder of a Cornish schoolgiri, Caroline Dickinson, in July 1996.

HE DAILY MAIL diarist
Nigel Dempater, chronicler of the trials and tribulations of the wealthy, was fined £10,000 for contempt of court after repeating a libellous allegation concerning the millionaire Baron Steven Bentinck. His newspaper was fined £25,000.

LIZABETH Barrett
Browning's costly familiar
sonnet How Do I Love Thee? is Britain's most cherished love poem, according to a BBC poll.

G EORGE MALCOLM, one of the century's great choirmasters and a renowned harpsichordist, pianist and conductor, has died aged 80.

versity of California at Berkeley. Your country needs

Altered image . . . A new version of the famous poster appeal for army recruits by Lord Kitchener in 1914, now bearing the face of a black officer, was unveiled as part of a campaign to attract recruits from ethnic minorities and to eradicate racism from the army

HRT 'is worth the risk'

OMEN taking hormone

HRT could cut the risk of heart disease by 30 per cent.

The biggest study in the world so far into the links between HRT and breast cancer has concluded that there will be a small increase in cases of cancer, but

The cancers are generally smaller in women taking HRT, and confined to the breast, mak ing them easier to treat.

is on top of the 45 cases which occur naturally per 1,000 women aged 50 to 70. The ex-

cess risk disappears within five years of stopping HRT. The study, published in the Lancet, looked at 54,000 women with breast cancer compared with 108,000 healthy women. It involved an analysis of 51 studies from 21 countries, comprising some 90 per cent of the published evidence on the link with breast cancer.

Valerie Beral, co-ordinator of the study, told a press conference in London there had always been a theoretical chance that HRT would increase the chance of breast cancer.

Professor Beral, of the ICRF's epidemiology unit at Oxford, stressed that the studies had looked at cases, not deaths, and that overall there was nothing in the findings to prevent women taking HRT, as the risks had to be balanced against the benefits.

Hospitals to get extra £300m

Anne Perkins

HE Government is to spend about £300 million extra to prevent a winter hospital crisis in the first serious breach of Chancellor Gordon Brown's stranglehold on public spending.

Mr Brown on Tuesday confirmed the decision to use savings from defence and trade budgets. In a statement, he said the money will come from existing resources and that the reallocation showed that the Government was committed to making patient care a top priority.

The money will be used to try to stop operations being cancelled and to slow the growth in waiting lists as the onset of winter increases the pressure on the health service. The Opposition accused the Gov

ernment of a U-turn. Mr Brown earned the nickname of Iron Chancellor by insisting that he would not increase public spend-

targets, that departmental spending ceilings would not be breached, and that there would be no shuffling or resources between departments.

It is understood that Treasury officials scrutinising the way Britain's contingency reserve was being spent spotted £170 million earmarked for a Ministry of Defence overspend. It was decided the MoD would have to make savings elsewhere rather than be bailed out by the Treasury.

Alistair Darling, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, insisted the cuts in the defence budget would not have an impact on Britain's frontline

"I'm making it clear to the Defence Secretary, George Robertson, and to all my colleagues that they have got to ensure their departments are run efficiently and properly," he said

A further £100 million will come

ing above the previous government's | from funds for nuclear power no longer required by the Department of Trade. £30 million will come from administrative savings within the health service.

The Shadow Chancellor, Peter Lilley, said: 'The Government has cynically abandoned its core pre-election pledge to deliver shorter waiting lists. And it has repudiated its promise to stick within public spending plans department by department."

But Mr Darling, in an interview on BBC radio, said Labour had inherited a difficult situation: "We have had to take some very hard and tough choices, and alongside that process we are looking at how existing apending can be reallocated.

This year, over £100 million previously spent on red tape is being diverted into frontline care . . . that's

Mr Brown has already announced an extra £1 billion of spending for health in the next financial year.

Christine Hancock, general sec-retary of the Royal College of Nursing, welcomed the news. "This is a significantly useful contribution. Of course, we would have liked more but with good targeting and coordination this should really help this winter," she said.

British Medical Association's consultants' committee, also welcomed the move, but added that it was important that the extra funding be made available quickly if problems were to be avoided over the winter.

"I carnestly hope the extra money can be released to the NHS now so that some wards that have been mothballed can be reopened and additional staff recruited," he said.

The Liberal Democrats' health spokesman, Simon Hughes, said: The NHS clearly needs significantly more funds. Rather than being defensive about this and makng excuses for NHS under-funding, the Government needs to be more imaginative and keep on finding ways of releasing the real increase in resources which the NHS needs."

thorities, employers and schools to

do more to assess the impact of

what they do on people's mental

Two people a month die at the

released into the community, ac-

case", he said. But the judge had harsh weifer the defendants, who now in army disciplinary proceedings

The case has been damaging part to blame.

After a 19-year-old soldier was quitted of rape at Catterick in it.

cording to figures released from the Other critics speak of a testos? one culture in which soldles 🕫 most of their working and kis time together. Women, for some, seen as no more than sex object

O gang-raped a 23-year-old work walked free from court last whi after the judge halted their tid to claring that there was not most

Judge Julian Hall instructed to jury at Oxford crown court tomin not-guilty verdicts on the men, not had denied raping the woman, student, in a bedroom of the Rmi Military College of Science Shrivenham, Oxfordshire, in M last year. Their counsel chimelwoman had consented.

six men think it's a good idea: have sex with one woman, they t. the risk of being accused of my think they have brought this p ecution on themselves."

army, which has faced critics over several cases of sexual miss duct and violence in recent year Critics claim the army way of t and the restrictions it imposes at

Zito Trust, which was set up after Jonathon Zito was killed by a schizophrenic in 1992. The trust claims

flak following rape acquitta Sarah Boseley IX army officers alleged to have

consistent evidence to convicting

The judge said the woman's er dence had been "riddled with inconsistencies". The defence of tacks on her were not "attacks of her morals or on her way of E they are attacks on her crediting

his solicitor, Charles Shirtcliffe, c he thought the army offered per ous opportunities to youngate "They live in a culture of women hands of persons with mental illness ing and drink, and have too me time to include in both," he sid

Defence budget dwarfed by £32bn mental health bill

MENTAL health problems cost Britain £32 billion a year half as much again as the defence budget, according to a new report.

Social security payments to people with mental illness are put at £7.6 billion, equivalent to threequarters of the single parents' benefits bill which so preoccupies

Treatment of mental illness is estimated to cost £4.2 billion, 10 per cent of the National Health Service's spending and about the same as the service's expenditure on

behalf of the Health Education Authority to coincide with World Mental Health Day last week and promote preventive mental health

CLASSIFIED

CAR HIRE

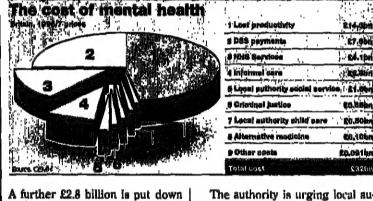
care. Lynne Friedli, head of the authority's mental health programme, said: "Mental health is just as important as physical health and underpins everything we do - but it is atill taboo. The costings were prepared by

health economists at the Institute of Psychiatry in London. They include all forms of mental health problem, from stress to acute psychosis, but exclude learning disability or mental handican.

The £32.1 billion total is equal to 1 per cent of Britain's gross domestic product. More than a third, almost £12 billion, is attributed to the cost of lost employment and production in respect of people stress and auxiety. Another £2.5 billion is ascribed to lost productiv-

"Business

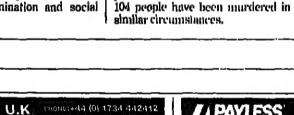
as usual!"



further £2.8 billion is put down to the costs of informal care of people with mental illness by family o

One in seven people is assumed to suffer mental health problems. Studies suggest one in five will do so at some time in their life.

Dr Friedli said the hard cash figures did not show the broader social costs of mental illness, "the misery caused by loss of selfesteem, discrimination and social



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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Fit winners of the Nobel prize

EOPLE do count even in a world where nation atates can look puny. Last week's announcement in Oslo of the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize testifies to the influence that a small group of social reformers can still achieve in an anonymous global market. Who would have given the six original co-founders of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) any hope of success when they began their campaign in 1992? Certainly not the cynical junior Tory defence minister, Lord Howe, who earlier this year described Princess Dianz as "a distraction" and "loose cannon" for becoming involved in the worldwide campaign. Yet just five years on from ICBL's launch, they are now a coalition of 1,000 non-governmental organisations in 60 states. Behind the scenes they played a key part in last month's Oslo conference, at which 100 states drafted the text of a landmine ban that is due to be signed in Ottawa in December. Last week the Nobel Committee awarded its annual peace prize to the ICBL and its co-ordinator, Jody Williams of the United States. Ironically, the US is one of a bandful of states still holding out against a total ban. Russian, another resistor, signed up last week.

The real winners are the thousands of farmers, villagers and children in war-torn countries where landmines may no longer be implanted. The UN es-timates there are 110 million mines in 70 states, most of which are in the Third World. A further 100 million are believed to be held in military stockpiles. One of the biggest problems is the disproportionate cost between manufacture (a mere \$3) and the huge expense of removing implanted mines (up to \$1,000 per mine). An estimated 26,000 people are killed every year — some 500 a week. Most of the victims are innocent civilians. The International Committee of the Red Cross summed up their use succinctly: "Mines are the greatest violators of humanitarian law and laying them is a monstrous form of terrorism . . . they are fighters that never miss, strike blindly, and go on killing long after hostilities are ended." The US should end its opposition.

A man who won't resign

BINYAMIN NETANYAHU, by any rational standard, should no longer be prime minister of Israel. The falled assassination in Ammon, which is now revealed in full detail, betrays a strategic as well as moral blindness, and has strengthened rather than weakened the hand of those he describes as Israel's enemies. If Mr Netanyahu were to resign, the sigh of relief among Israel's friends as well as its Arab neighbours would echo round the world. Yet the polls show that while nearly 60 per cent of Israelis are dissatisfied with his performance, the same percentage believe that he should not resign. Under the new rules, it would require the political impossibility of a two-thirds majority in the Knesset to remove him. The disastrous contradiction of a man who creates disasters and then thrives on them has to be understood if it is ever to be solved.

The adjectives piled on him by commentators in Jerusalem describe someone living in an imaginary reality, whose attempt to procure the assassination of the Hamas leader Khaled Meshal was "amateurish, disgraceful and ridiculous", and who has ensured that the Hamas movement is the sole winner. Security experts concur that the Hamas threat is co-ordinated from elsewhere and that the public arena of Amman would be the last place to choose. Mr Meshal is seen as a relatively moderate leader on the political wing, and Israel itself has pointed the finger at Damascus. If the assessination had been successful, it would only have strengthened Hamas's military wing. But the Labour leader, Ehud Barak, was conspicuously careful to refrain from criticism until the two Israeli agents were returned from Amman. He called the botched attempt "pathetic", but refrained from demanding the prime minister's resignation. Mr Barak appears to have decided some time ago that he will not win more votes by sounding too liberal, and is going instead for "Bibi compatibility".

Mr Netanyahu has relied on the emotive argument that in the war against terrorism some battles will be lost as well as others won. Guided by his image adviser from the United States, he has employed the same mendacious but successful nega- the centre ground should take careful note.

tive propaganda that won him the election to sway the public again. So far he has been able to sidestep questions about the damage done to Yasse Arafat — his supposed partner in peace-making—
and the boost given to Hamas. Instead he has denounced the press for publishing "a whole fabric of
lies" (without identifying what they are) when vital
interests are alleged to be at stake. This sort of anguage also reduces the chance — a slim one already - that any of Mr Netanyahu's less hardline competitors in the Likud leadership might see ar

opportunity to supplant him. None of this should inhibit the US and any other government with influence in Jerusalem from making absolutely clear its displeasure with an action that places Mr Netanyahu on the same level as the terrorists (compounded by the apparent use of a nerve gas in the attack). It has moved the whole crisis on to a new stage in which Hamas, through the figure of Sheikh Yassin, may have entered the political dialogue with its own peace terms. This may only be a lull before new storms, but it could conceivably lead to a new way forward. Israel - and the Palestinians - should be so lucky.

Tory fight for the centre ground

WE CANNOT yet hall the New Conservatism, but last week in Blackpool the Tories began to build it. Like the architects of New Labour before them, William Hague and the Tory modernisers have taken the first, painful step: they have admitted defeat. Not just their electoral humiliation on May 1, but their larger defeat in the battle of ideas. In the leader's speech and throughout the week, the Conservative party has begun to accept that in one core area of belief their opponents were right and they were wrong.

For the New Labourites, surrender came in the economic argument. Modernisers forced the party to accept that the world had changed, that the old socialist dream of a high-taxing, high-spending economy had vanished, and that now the free market was sovereign. Mr Hague signalled — as Michael Portillo had done the day before — that the Tories have to undergo a similar retreat, this time on the social and cultural battlefield. Both men urged their party to accept that Britain has changed, arguing that if the Tories are to return to the mainstream they have to accept that not every Briton is white or male or married or straight.

What Mr Hague showed is a determination to march straight back to the centre ground of British politics, not to cede that golden electoral turf to l'ony Blair. If he has his way, his party will not follow Labour's 1980s experience of a half-decade on the wilder edges of public opinion. Instead he is bent on refashioning his party until it is an even match for New Labour. Mr Blair promises "com-passion with a hard edge", so Mr Hague is offering

a hard edge with compassion. But there are problems. For one thing, it is far from clear whether Mr Hague can take his party with him. It was striking how flat some of the key modernising lines fell at the Winter Gardens. When the leader explained that "compassion is not a bolt-on extra to Conservatism, it's at its very core," delegates listened politely — but in silence. When he welcomed black and Asian Britons, and spoke of celebrating diversity, the hall was slow to applaud. When he codedly referred to his admirably progressive record on gay rights, speaking of his "tolerance" and "understanding" of those who choose to lead their own lives their own way - silence again. Instead the delegates wanted to gobble up the old Tory red meat on Europe, the family and patriotism. Alarmingly, the loudest cheers greeted the riff against devolution — even though this was an argument the Tories had soundly lost and should not try to revive.

Perhaps the leader should not be faulted too severely if his foot soldlers are slow to follow. But Mr Hague can be blamed for not going far enough. If he meant gay rights, he should have sald so —without feeling the need to sandwich his remarks between two sets of standard Toryspeak about family values. If he meant Neil Hamilton and Jonathan Aitken when he spoke about "greed and selfish-ness", he should have said so. Equally, he might have condemned Norman Tebbit to show that when he promises a racially inclusive party he means it. These are minor quibbles, though, with what was a highly successful conference for the Tories' new would have kept Ireland in the Com-These are minor quibbles, though, with what was a leader. A Labour party anxious to keep its hold of

Be brave, Ireland,

Fintan O'Toole argues that Dublin should follow the ANC's lead and rejoin the Commonwealth

ARY ROBINSON, in her last significant speech as president of Ireland, raised an idea that might excite the interest of the Commonwealth nations as they gather in Edinburgh next week.

Opening a summer school is August she asked her audience: "If somebody posed the question, Should Ireland rejoin the Commonwealth?' just think of your reaction." Such a thought was, she said, "a good way of assessing the insecurities we still have" after 75 years of Irish independence, "the lack of a firm sense of ourselves so that we cannot address that question without a great deal of hesitation and emotion"

As always with Mrs Robinson, hard question was being posed in soft tones. This was not idle speculation - when she met the Commonwealth's secretary-general, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, in 1994, she had gone out of her way to praise the nstitution for its multi-racial and multi-cultural character, its commitment to negotiation and the rule of law, and its capacity to connect the developed and developing worlds.

Mrs Robinson knew well that her words would be seen for what they undoubtedly were — an attempt to place the unthinkable on the Irish political agenda.

The citizens of the Republic are proud of their independence and wary of what might be seen as a return to the Britannic fold. This is moreover, hardly a good time for auggesting that anyone, let alone the Irish, would choose to be associated with the British monarchy.

Yet there are good reasons, both historical and contemporary, for reopening the question. The Commonwealth played a critical role in shaping modern Ireland, and independent Ireland played a vital part shaping the contemporary Com-

At the Commonwealth Confer ence of 1930, the Irish Free State, together with Canada, did much to shape the organisation as a community of equal nations by establishing that British laws would not apply to the Dominions without their consent. That agreement, in turn, transformed the equivocal independence granted to Ireland in 1922 into a real sovereignty. Paradoxically, this freedom was expressed most dramatically in Ireland's 1948 decision to quit the Commonwealth.

There is, too, another, more intriguing historical paradox. It is often assumed that Ireland's withdrawal was a logical outcome of the advance of nationalism. But in fact there is good reason to believe that Eamon de Valera, for long the em-bodiment of hardline Irish republicanism, wanted to stay in.

In 1953, Winston Churchill asked de Valera: "If you had remained head of the Irish government, would you have taken the country out of the Commonwealth?" De Valera's answer was a firm "No". Frederick Boland, the leading Irish diplomat monwealth, while making it clear that Ireland recognised the British

And now, of course, the role of the monarchy in the Common the Common the monarchy in the Common the Common the monarchy in the Common wealth has been diluted to a degree that goes well beyond even be Valera's demands. The Common wealth is no longer the British Enpire in drag. If the PLO can apply to

A dent, Carlos Lage, pointed out recently, Cuba is not join and the ANC can lead South Africa back to the moral centre of the organisation, it is hard to se China. It is a country where reforms how even the most militant his are implemented at a slower pace, hampered as they are by an indecinationalist can persist in seeingits: sive regime and the hostility of the a neo-imperial conspiracy. De Valera's regret at Irelants United States. Washington and Havana's stormy departure from the Commonwealth was perfectly consistent with his to: relationship has its paradoxes. The nfluential community of Cuban

tionalism. By pulling out, the his

nuestion must be asked again.

The citizens of the Republic low

that the current peace talks it

Northern Ireland cannot read

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formal, institutional connections be

tween North and South. What the

do not yet realise is that the reers

is also true. Nationalists have to

recognise the "British dimension"

formal, institutional links between

Ircland and Britain. And this is

where the idea of the Republic re

joining the Commonwealth be

ubject for abstract debate.

comes much more than a diverting

of the Republic to discuss membership of the Common

wealth would be a convincing

demonstration that Irish nationalist

are prepared to do what they is mand of Unionists; contemplate the

Conversely, if the Irish goust ment simply dismisses the ideas

the current prime minister Bent.

Ahern has tended to do, the met

sage to Unionists is: "Do so at #4

And the deeper truth is the tr

Northern Ireland conflict canada

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When Ireland was a weak and a

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thing, rather more self-sign more sanguine about its place in

seems to be. These days colonial angst belongs in the

Country, not the former colon

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without the other's.

WILLINGNESS on the part

government, theoretically committed to a united Ireland, deepened the fi urges the US to tighten its embargo, is also the main source of visions between North and South It should have been obvious ren Cuba's hard currency According to the United Nation's then that closer ties between the Re! Economic Commission for Latin public and Northern Ireland would merica and the Caribbean (Eclac). ilways need some way in which the volume of remittances from Northern Unionists could expres exiles amounted to \$800 million in British allegiance. And this is pre-1996 - more than Cuba's revenues cisely why the Commonwealth

> Thirty years after the death of Che Guevara, dollar-earning has become the revolution's watchword though that is not something openly dmitted by speakers at the Cuban hich opened in Havana on October in an atmosphere of economic Whereas last year Lage was able

from either sugar or tourism.

Jean-Michel Carolt in Havana

exiles in Florida, which constantly

S THE Cuban vice-presi-

announce a healthy growth rate 17.8 per cent, the economy slowed own appreciably this year. Most idependent economic analysts reckon that Cuba will fail to achieve its official growth target of 4 per ent. The first half of the year was disappointing: the augar harvest only just topped 4 million tonnes, which represented a shortfall of at least 200,000 tonnes over last year.

Even though tourism was little ffected by the summer's wave of bomb attacks, it did not bring in as much hard currency as the Cuban overnment had hoped. Gross revaues, the only figures released by he authorities, do not represent a rue picture, as allowances have to made for the cost of importing a uipment required, and for a major lice of air transport costs.

subjected to a detailed audit under hists, is not on the cards.

The co-existence of a dollar eco-

currency" revenues and combat corruption in a sector where there is lierce competition for jobs because of the opportunity they provide of getting tipped in dollars.

Dollar calls the tune

"At the end of last year, the Cuban leaders were surprised to see that growth had cost them a lot of hard currency as a result of a sharp increase in imports. So they had to slam on the brakes," says a

Cuba's higher oil bill and dwindling sugar revenues, which serve as security for loans, have this year brought the country to the brink of bankruptcy. Creditors had no choice but to agree to extend payment schedules. Meanwhile the authorities have cut back imports and scraped together as many dollars as they could from enterprises doing business with foreign

"Everything belongs to the state," says the representative of a lending sold many of their assets yet and still have some leeway if things really come to the crunch." Privatisation remains anathema.

A "hard currency committee" made up of senior officials in the main economic ministries and chaired by Lage meets once or wice a week. "All inflows of hard currency are centralised," says

A European diplomat says: "The extreme centralisation which enabled Cuba to withstand the shock of the Soviet Union's demise and a sudden decline in GNP has its limitations." Lage has on several occasions expressed concern about the low productivity of Cuban enter-

The economy minister, José Luis Rodriguez, says that an improve ment in the efficiency of stateowned enterprises over the next few years will be one of the key recomendations of the current congress But it would seem that the legalisation of small and medium-sized companies, which has been blocked In June, tourist facilities were for years by "orthodox" commu



nomy alongside a peso economy is I have become excessively merco roving another headache for the nary". Anything goes, from prostitu-Cuban government, Lage, a doctor by training, has not come up with a cure for this two-track system, which is deepening the gulf between dollar holders and the majority of the population, who find it ncreasingly hard to survive on

their pesos. As an employer, the state stands o gain from the system: wage-earners are invoiced to foreign investors n dollars and paid in pesos at the official rate of one dollar to the peso - or 20 times less than the actual

Le Monde

"With two salaries and a ration card, a family can live on its pesos or 15-20 days. After that, it just has to find some way of coping," says Arturo, a communist activist whose salary of 260 pesos (\$13) per month slightly above the average of 206

"Coping" means trying to get hold of dollars. The quest for green-backs has created what one foreign resident of Havana describes as a situation where "social relations

tion to petty swindling, in the scramble to relieve foreign visitors of their currency

The "social indiscipline" do nounced by the official press takes the form of rampaut corruption. The Cubans' traditional generosity and hospitality are gradually being replaced by more self-interested

"Last year's strong growth only reinforced our leaders' inertia," says Aurelio Alonso, a sociologist. "The slowdown in growth may prompt them to have another think about pursuing the process of change."

In the past few years, the presaure of events has proved a more effective factor of change than congress debates. In 1991, for example, the Fourth Congress refused to legalise farmers' free markets. They saw the light of day three years later, in the wake of the "rafters' crisis" of the summer of 1994, when more than 30,000 Cubans fled to the coasts of Florida.

that Irishness and Britishness at not opposed, but intertwined, iden-ties. Ireland and Britain passis share a language and a histor. The relations between the two islands are too close, too deeply rooted, at either's existence to be imaginal. A last long look at Vichy

CROM 1940 to 1944, the Jews living in France, whether Republic no longer feels like for Bull's Other Island. It is crossed cally successful and culturally condens. European Union members have foreign or French-born, excluded them from society and divested them of their property. It organised the arrest and internment of tens of thousands of Jews, before handing them over o the Nazis, who sped them on their way to concentration camps from which there was no

> It took 50 years for a French resident, Jacques Chirac, to rounded up at the Vel' d'Hiv stadium in Paris in 1942.

More than two years after list of people to be rounded up Chirac's speech on that occa- and persuaded them to flee. sion, the trial has opened of Maurice Papon, who, when he French state kept files on all | was a senior official at the prefecture in Bordeaux, organ the arrest of Jews and their transfer to the Paris suburb of Drancy, the antechamber of the death camps.

It is only right that a person suspected of having been one of several French accessories to the Final Solution should be brought to trial. Invested with the full authority of state, Papon arrested and loaded on to trains men, women, old people and children whose fate could not be course of a ceremony in July have been in any doubt. No one rest of whole families meant.

.

policemen who warned potential victims that they were on their Papon possessed neither their compassion nor the self-respect he needed to resign from his post rather than execute disonourable orders.

It is healthy, too, that the political and judicial reluctance to bring Papon to court has been overcome. The efforts made by the former, president François Mitterrand to slow down the wheels of justice were effective in enabling other men, such as former police chief Rene

Bousquet, to escape trial.

Following the trial of the former SS officer Klaus Barbie in Lyon and that of the former 1995 in memory of those in good faith could have had Vichy militia leader Paul Touvier in good faith could have had versalles the Bordesuy trial any illusions about what the ar- in Versailles, the Bordeaux trial is the third and last occasion

that someone accused of com-mitting crimes against humanity during the Occupation has been brought to trial.

Irrespective of the sentence passed on Papon, tinis is the last documentary evidence.

light shed on the monstrous behaviour of the Pétain regime can only bring greater respect for the courage of all those who opposed it and serve as a reminder of the kind of crimes that are committed when repub-lican principles are trampled

(October 8)

Sweden takes slow road to the euro

Bruno Peltler in Stockholm

C WEDEN'S Social-Democratic D prime minister, Göran Persson has confirmed in a bill put before parliament on October 10 that his country will not be in the first wave of nations joining European Mone-tary Union (EMU) in January 1999. This goes against Sweden's pledge, when it joined the European Union in 1995, to accept the principles of the Maastricht treaty. But Persson knows how unpopular the cure is in Sweden, especially among his own

The two opposition parties, the conservative Moderates and the Liberals, who had hoped to per-suade the Swedes to join EMU from the start, abandoned the idea this week and joined those who have been calling for a referendum or

The leader of the Moderates, Carl Bildt, thinks this should take place at the same time as the European elections, in June 1999. The prime minister, sensing a political manocuvre, thinks that would be too soon after the start of EMU.

But, as Persson hinted in Brussels at the end of September, the government could well reassess the situation sooner than expected were the British to do a Usturn on the issue. What Persson wants to ensure is that the euro does not become a key issue in the run-up to the general elections in September 1998.

With a view to winning that poll Persson has brought out his bag of welfare sweeteners in recent weeks He will be giving away 9 billion crowns (\$120 million) in increased unemployment and sickness benefits and family allowances. That should help to reassure voters worried by Sweden's rising unemploy ment rate. This year it is expected to be 8.4 per cent of the working population. Persson had promised to bring it down to 4 per cent by 2000.

Bildt's Moderates have manage make political capital out of this government failure, and are running neck and neck with the Social Democrats in the opinion polls. Bildt mocrats in the opinion polls. Bildt hopes to bring the small Centre party into his fold by election time. In a bid to give itself an independent image during the campaign, the Centre party has said it will no longer play ball with the government.

Persson hopes to woo the party back after the election and is pre It is the only trial involving an | pared to pay the price - the closing official of the French state, down of two of Sweden's 12 nuclear reactors by the summer of 2001.

It is easy for Persson to show that time that the true nature of the he has improved public finances. Yichy regime can be scrutinised. The 1997 budget deficit will not exwith the help of testimony and ceed 1.9 per cent of GDP. Growth is expected to be 2.3 per cent and infla-Neither the action of the tion 1.1 per cent. Better than that, Resistance nor the prestige of the government expects to balance the republic will be diminished its books in 1998, and then produce by the trial. On the contrary, a surplus of 0.5 per cent of GDP in 1999 and of 1.5 per cent in 2000.

That at least was what the finance minister forecast when he presented his draft 1998 budget last month. In fact Sweden, should come close to meeting all the Maastricht criteria for the single currency — only its public debt is higher than the permitted threshold.

(October 10) .



before then, particularly in he cations. The Double Viola (s

certo, too, is microtonal. [

greatly influenced by Harry Page

when I stayed in California 25 per

ago, and I even had a chance lot

I try as hard as I can to avoid to

equal division of the octave into

semitones, which was useful furt.

tonal system. We now have ob-

possibilities, a continum ofolog

of the kind that Ferruccio Bust

rection, notably in its use of one

The movement is, for exam

based on the harmonics of EB

C string and controlling the se

racy of his or her intonation by a

In a sense, it means using in-

nary strings. I'd like to extend b

You have just made major

experiments to the string quant

revisions to Le Grand Macaba.

which was put on at last sur-

mer's Salzburg Festival and co

be seen in Paris next February

Opera, which used to be meas:

at 20 years ago, is now straction

composers again. Is that be-

cause it allows them to play a

more prominent social role?

I don't think so. A social m's

not something I can quite visual

Anything that I might think can?

be an Illusion. The reality of sec

cannot be influenced by sta

think. That's why I avoid all lors

utopia. I don't think that whense

create they ask themselves who

people need them or not last

In an interview 10 years ap., o

said it was only normal that of

generation should be hosileb

futhers and move closer togs

fathers. You seem to be sight

by young composers from the

different backgrounds. Dosis

mean that you are now regular as a "grandfather"?

I'm now an old man, but lek

a form of curlosity intact. I have

gone along the road that long

as some people cultivate that cultivating one's own ar

style. I'm never happy with the

Isn't it rather risky to call@

into question all the time?

do. I'm always searching.

create because I need to do so.

on his instruments.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Barton Geliman in Jerusalem

N THE national mortification

over a failed assassination at-

tempt in Jordan, Israelis are dis-

secting every tactical, technical and

procedural flaw in the affair. Strik-

ingly absent from the debate, how-

ever, is a question that might be

expected elsewhere: Should the

For Israeli Jews, profoundly inse-

A true body of work

CONTEMPORARY music often reaches the public only in recorded form, and records there- took part in the Darmstadt summer fore have a key bearing on a composer's reputation, writes Pierre

The dream of any living composer is to leave to posterity a corpus of recorded works that is totally faithful to the artist's intentions. Sony will make that dream come true for the Hungarian-born composer György Ligeti at the end of next year, when he will be 75.

Born in Transylvania in 1923, Ligeti left Hungary shortly after the beginning of the 1956 uprising and settled in Cologne, where he was welcomed by fellow composer Karlheinz Stockhausen and underwent the influence of Pierre Boulez, Luciano Berio and Mauricio Kagel. In 1959, Ligeti moved to Vienna

school, and has since then divided his time between Hamburg, where he taught until 1989, and Vienna.

By the end of 1998, Sony will have published what is to all intents and purposes the "authorised" recordings of Ligeti's works under the supervision of the Finnish composer and conductor Esa Pekka Salonen. The first six of the 12 CDs, which will contain recordings of almost all Ligeti's works (one or two pieces composed when he was still in Hungary have been left out), have already appeared.

The first volume contains a solid account of Ligeti's string quartets by the Arditti Quartet and a fine little-known piece with Magyar overtones, Ballade And Dance For

Two Violins, which he composed when he was a young man.

The second CD, A Cappella Choral Works, centres on the historic Lux Aeterna, and reflects the composer's musical curiosity and sensitivity. Volume three, Works

For Piano, is the finest in the series, and offers a perfect introduc tion to Ligetl's music for anyone unfamiliar with it. Pierre-Laurent Aimard is the talented performercum-analyst of Ligeti's 15 studies The fourth CD is equally success-

ful. In it, Salonen and the King's Singers give a pertinent account of the Nonsense Madrigals. The last two volumes throw new light on Ligeti's keyboard works, both his their original version (piano, harpsichord and organ) and as transcribed for mechanical instruments such as Pierre Charial's barrel

(September 27)

been different. But not all that different, because in the summer of 1956, before leaving Hungary, I had already written Visions, a piece for orchestra which is a sort of more primitive version of the first movement of Apparitions. The emphasis on chromatic clusters 1 ing 16 the natural harmonic gand very dense textures was already | train are called for.

Soul searcher

Avant-garde composer

HE fact you left Hungary

composer. Can you imagine

vhat kind of music you might

have written had you stayed?

in 1956 had a crucial

Yes. Pieces like Apparitions or

Atmosphères, which I composed in

Cologne and Vienna, were affected

by my discovery of Karlheinz Stock-

hausen and Pierre Boulez. So any-

thing I might have written without

their influence, by staying behind in

Budapest, would of course have

bearing on your career as

György Ligeti talks to

Pierre Gervasoni

a personal characteristic of mine. My musical development in fluigary might have been much the the viola has no F string so they unie, except that it would have a former has to produce the hort taken longer, as it did for György i ies of F by playing aormaly க. Kurtag, with whom I had a great deal in common.

Do you still feel you have a Hungaring identity? My mother tongue in Hungarian

I have no nationalist teclings. I'm not fled to Hungary in any patriotic way. but I do have links through the language, poetry and literary culture. But in other respects my culture is

European, in Japan, Indochina and ndonesia a great indigenous culture has existed for thousands of years. In Europe, it's only the languages that are different. Culture is technology.

in a 1985 article you advocated contemporary modernism that vould be neither "retro" out of iostalgia for tonality, nor academic out of submissiveness to a fossilised post-serial avantarde, is a modernism of that dad still refevent?

Yes. You can still find composers who compose like Mahler or VIvaldi, or who even write meditations In the style of Pératin, However, I don't think it's a good idea to pursue a strict avant-garde line.

I hate scores that are too elaborate, where you're supposed to admire the writing more than the music. For me, music is an acoustic phenomenon, and the only purpose of the score is to communicate with the performers.

My own work has naturally evolved over the past 10 years because, among other things, I have increased my knowledge in the scientific and ethno-musicological areas that have long provided me with inspiration. Having said that, I'm really a dilettante who is interested in all the sciences . . . and

You can't get anywhere taking risks. You remain in mediocrity. When I left House had no idea what was going to pen — I might have been shall reached the border.

You've been looking for an alter-

government be in the business of dispatching assassins to kill its ene-The Double Violin Concerto mies abroad? seemed to mark a step in hat

cure still in their 50th year of statenas and slide flutes. Do youth hood, the answer appears to be to take that experiment further self-evident. No mainstream politi-Certainly in my chamber much cian or columnist, from right to far-In my Viola Sonata, whose fa thest left, has questioned Israel's performance was given by Ital entitlement to hunt down accused Zimmermann, you have a fa terrorists such as Khalid Mashaal, movement — which I compose the chief of the militant Islamic with beating heart — where val. group Hamas' political bureau in microtonal deviations corrests. Amman, Jordan. That is unusual among democra-

cies with roots in the Western trailitions of individual rights and the rule of law. In England, allegations of a shoot-to-kill policy by British troops against the Irish Republican Army caused a scandal in the mid-1980s. In the United States, the backlash against CIA abuses unearthed by the Church Committee led to a legal bun on assassinations

Israeli law not only sanctions assassination but has regularized it to some extent. At roughly the time that the U.S. Congress passed the assassination ban, then-Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir set up twin committees — a forum of secret service chiefs known by its Hebrew acronym, Varash, and a panel of government ministers known as the X Committee - to vet candidates for assassination by the Mossad, the country's espionage

What has aroused debate in Israel is not the September 25 attempt o poison Mashaal but rather its spectacular failure. To obtain the freedom of two captured Mossad agents, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu agreed to provide the antidote for the nerve agent that otherwise would have killed Mashael within two days. Relations chilled with Jordan and with

tools. Against hostile governments,

have found some Chinese cheerfully sacre of democracy demonstrators at Tiananmen Square in 1989. Other, more apprehensive Chinese seem to fear the United States is basically concerned to check their country's

'On the American side, however, the administration is already claiming no small breakthrough. Though the dally static sometimes conceals rives in Washington at the end of the it, the administration has won a substantial indication of bipartisan support that it hopes will sustain its,

nation," or MFN, trading status) will be on President Jiang's mind. should be linked to Beijing's perfor-

prepared to let him try it both ways.

choose among them.

had to concede the release of the Hannas leader, Ahmed Yassin officials said, they have other I James P. Rubin to "political assassimeans of pressure and do not resort nation." "We don't consider this puto assassination. But terrorists. litical assassination," he said, among whom the Israelis cour What Israelis are debating in Hamas and, at one time, the Pales stead are the mechanics of the tine Liberation Organization, can be assassination attempt and the calibration of political risk. Eitan Rabin, Netanyahu, in his only televised one of Israel's leading military writdefense of the assassination misers, said the "clarification commitsion, said the alternative to "brave tee" investigating the affair is decisions" like the one to target asking such questions as whether Mashaal is to heed "frightened, Netanyahu forced the assignment

handa tied when facing these whether the right people were cho-"It's the old-time religion - - s sen for the mission. eye for an eye," said a senior Ameri-Among Israelis, the only fundacan diplomat. "It's very biblical, and mental critics of assassination as basic value of post-Holocaust policy are its Arab citizens.

on Mossad chief Dani Yatom,

whether the location of the hit in

Jordan was unavoidable and

Abdul Wahab Darawshe, a mem Netanyahu's director of commu ber of parliament and leader of the nications and policy planning, David Bar-Illan, defended the prime minis-Arab Democratic Party, linked Israel's use of extrajudicial killing to ter's decision on Mashaal by saying, a value system that places "the secu-"He did what every other prime rity needs of Israel over everything. minister would have done." It's the only value they respect

Bar-Illan said he disagreed with Under the rubric of security they references by President Clinton and can allow themselves to do every-State Department spokesman

combated only in kind.

murderers."

alarmed voices . . . which are

explaining why we must sit with our

The Washington Post

Failed Killing Stirs Few Moral Doubts

Canada, whose forged passports the

Mossad agents had carried. Hamas,

the "snake" whose "head" Israeli of

ficials said they had been trying to

cut off, emerged far stronger when

Netanyahu was forced to release its

founder, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, from

One measure of the Israeli politi-

cal dialogue — and the assumptions

shared by those who take part in it

Alex Lubotsky, a member of parlia-

ment from the middle-of-the-road

Third Way party. The issue that he

was addressing was not whether

Israel should engage in assas-

so in friendly countries such as

sinations, but whether it should do

"it's very easy to say you

shouldn't do it in countries with

which we have relations," Lubotsky

said. "The first commitment of a

government is to the security of its

people. Unfortunately we don't live

in a normal country, and we don't

Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan, it

of bewilderment and barely sup-

pressed rage, put it differently. The

Jewish state's tradition of glorifying

covert killing, he said, "is a part of

Israel's not wanting to become a

country that is part of the region."

"For a country that is besieged,

taking out figures in other countries

who are actively involved in military

can see that that is regarded as gal-

lant among the general public," Has-

of that view if it wishes to replace

its defiant isolation with normalized.

peaceful relations with its neigh-

"If you expect transparent, legally

binding peace treaties with coun-

tries in the region, then clearly you

can't move into your neighbor's turf,

relations with you . . . and destroy

the credibility of that country by

using strong-arm methods," Hassan

Israelis argue that they are locked in a life-or-death struggle

and have no practical choice of

country that entertains open

But Israel, he said, must grow out

activities against you, obviously

long conversation last week full

live in a normal region."

- was a radio interview given by

an Israeli prison.

East Congo Back in **Grip** of Violence

Lynne Duke in Goma

BANAMWANA MPIMUYE and his seven children stood forform on a roadside, part of a band of 30 ethnic Tutsi farmers driven out of the bills near Masisi about 35 miles northwest of here. With fresh gashes on their bodies that they said came from attackers, the group told of hiding in the forest for a week.

Banamwana is among thousands of people who have been displaced violently in this war-torn region recently, as bitter ethnic violence tamped down after new Congo leader Laurent Kabila seized control of the country earlier this year orgins to flare anew.

Perhaps most affected are Intsis. minority who are closely identified. with Kabila's successful rebellion and his new government — and who have suffered the effects of a kind of ethnic backlash, At Jeast 12,000 July sis from Congo have sought safety across the border in Rwanda, where Tutsis also are in the minority but have control of the government.

A year after Kabila started in campaign to oust veteran dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, this eastern region where the war began is gripped by ethnic extremism of the same kind that precipitated Kabila's

lu this region along Lake Kivu. enmity between ethnic groups has seethed and flared for years, rendering the area ungovernable except by Kabila's military. The government has established a Commission of Pacification to try to change hearts and minds, and maintains that reports of new ethnic violence are exaggerated. But local residents, aid workers and regional anaysts disagree.

"Extremism is mounting and nounting, and they fear that there might be another war," said Dufina Tabu, head of a volunteer association that preaches ethnic tolerance.

From July to September, conflicts flared from Goma, Masisi and Walikale in the north to Bukavu, Uvira and Fizi in the south. Scores of villages were destroyed, hundreds of people were killed and thousands of Tutsis fled to Rwanda. Though the violence has abated in recent weeks, many here believe this is

"We will be fighting here for many, many years to come," said a local man, Jean Pierre, who opposes presence here.

Tutsis from Congo and Rwanda initiated and led the Kabila rebellion, which in its early stages was essentially a fight to protect Tutsis on both sides of the border from attacks by other ethnic groups. After scoring a series of early victories, the rebellion grew into a broader regional military alliance that swept through the entire country and, in May, toppled Mobutu, who died last month.

The Tutals here in Congo now face the wrath of several militia forces. In North Kivu Province there are at: least three such groups: the Mai Mai, predominantly of the Hunde tribe; the Combatants, made up of members of the Hutu tribe, who form the majority in Rwanda; and remnants of the Rwandan Hutu militia forces known as the Interahamwe.

Ice maiden delivers the goods

Stéphane Davet

HE Icelandic pop singer and composer Björk has long gone her own wilful way without worrying about breaking taboos. Eccentricity has become the norm with her. Few musicians on the pop scene have allowed themselves such freedom to combine different forms and create such a persona avant-garde world as hers.

Her first two solo albums, Debut and Post, contained songs where a texture of cabaret sounds, swing, pop tunes and subdued house music was shot through with hints of classical music and oriental landscapes. Curiously, her futuristic and uncompromising songs were hugely successful with the public.

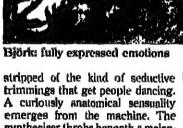
The spontanelty and mischlevous charisma of the "techno elf", and her knack of getting the biggest names in the pop business to work with her, turned Biork into the "with-it" icon of the nineties.

But behind her success there lurked a pitfatt into which she almost fell. In the past year, her name has featured more often in the gossip columns of newspapers than in their pop sections: a fan sent her a letter bomb (which was inter-cepted), then videoed his own sulcide; she was briefly married to and stormily divorced from Goldie, the cult DJ of the jungle scene; she attacked a woman reporter who was pestering her at an airport.

It was clearly time for Biork to tand back and take stock of her life. Her third album, Homogenic, is the exciting product of her retreat from the public eye. Although Björk is shown on the CD cover decked out as a cyber-oriental princess by the extravagant Alexander Mc-Queen, she has shorn her songs of many of the gimmicks she picked up when living in London.

In an interview in the pop weekly Les Inrockuptibles, Björk says she was determined to make an "organic" record; "The nervous system is represented by the violins, the lungs and oxygen by the voice, and the heart by the rhythm."

That formula is quintessentially present in the first four numbers of | and allows herself to be swept along the album, which possess a magical by a torrent of romantic supplicaperfection. In them, electronic tion. She seems to invent a new sounds act as an electrocardiogram, form of soul music with its own



18 · 中国的 18 · 图

synthesiser throbs beneath a melancholy flow of strings.

To allow her emotions to express themselves fully, Björk asked the Brazilian composer/arranger, Eumir Deodato, to conduct the Icelandic String Octet. Deodato, who used to any Astrud Gilberto, made a name for himself with his arrangements for Frank Sinatra, Roberta Flack and Aretha Franklin, and his adaptation of Richard Strauss's Also Sprach Zarathustra for the soundtrack of the film 2001: A Space Odyssey.

The sombre majesty of Björk's soaring cinematic flights in the first four numbers, Hunter, Joga, Unravel and Bachelorette, probably owe much to Deodato. In them the maverick Icelander's voice floats above a combination of post-modern harmonies and futuristic rhythms.

She is possessed by what she calls these "emotional landscapes". They have an uneven, raw beat | brand of pathos, and her voice un-

The inspired intensity of the four

Here again, Björk aims for austerity. The background of electronic sounds that evoke tachycardia one noment, and the grinding of factory machinery the next, is unlikely to wow those on the dance floor.

Biörk's voice, now more cerebral. as the crater of a volcano, as though mance, though less moving than the overwhelming first four numbers. Yet Björk remains unique.

Homogenic, 1 CD, One Little Indian 539 178-2 (September 20)

burdens itself, both caressing and lacerating the listener. Nostalgic, poignant and weird, these songs are probably the finest that Björk has

"torch songs" is followed by quieter moments. Violins and melody move into the background. Techno, trip hop and hip hop musicians (LFO's Mark Bell, Howle B and Wu-Tang on the act, smash Deodato's baton, so to speak, and get their synthesisers to hiss and grate.

s distorted and becomes as jagged she were trying to reach into the most tortuous recesses of her being. It is still a fascinating perfor-

the humanities.

I soak up everything like a sponge. But it can't be said I follow a model of any kind . . . Take, for example, the branch of mathematics which defines cellular automata whose configurations develop like a living organism. I'm interested in the theory, but not in applying it directly.

native to the equal temperament system since the beginning of the eighties. How successful have you been? I looked into the question well

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(September 27)

A Most-Favored Policy on China

COMMENT

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

ALL the large, open questions of American foreign policy, easily the largest is China: how to ensure that its remarkable development produces a country that can be brought into an international system, one that will not be free of tension but will be run by agreed rules. The question will get an early testing when President Jiang Zemin armonth for the first Chinese-Ameri-

can summit in nearly a decade. The Clinton administration, it appears, will be ready for him. In this instance, anyway, it has the elements of a coherent policy in place, and it has begun explaining its expectations for its guest.

True, it's not clear exactly what Recent American visitors to Belling | mance on human rights.

surging growth and power.

ups and downs sure to come. The particular issue people have brawled over most is whether or not the bestowal of normal trade terms (mislabeled as "most-favored-

The human rights wars continue anticipating restoration of the Sino-American normalization broken off abuses go on. But in the annual MFN by the Chinese Communist mas- | battle this year, White House national security adviser Samuel Bérger nov notes, the president's certification of Those countries are its markets and China as tradeworthy was sustained | its sources of investment and much by 80 votes in the Republican House and did not even come up for a vote | ing far into the future. in the Senate. You could say the president is trying to have a strong human rights emphasis and a strong trade policy, and Congress is

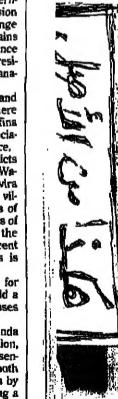
The American debate on engagement is over, says Berger, though argument continues on "priorities" these perennially contentious items matters most to the United States. presumably for fear of having to

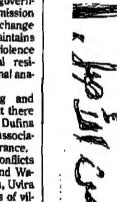
tablished plays to the tremendous and political affairs alike.

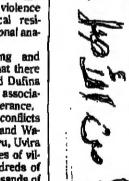
Under the rubric of security they political investment the Chinese Communist leadership has made in continued economic growth. This investment asks from China not just only a lull. a regard for the agreed terms of international trade but a general concern for good relations with countries like the United States else, and will be for a time extend We can't contain, isolate or turn

our backs on China, Berger says; if we treat China like an enemy, we'll make it an enemy. Hence the administration's acceptance of "strategic dialogue" with Beijing. Berger is reluctant to say the dialogue will lead to the ultimate and ambitious end chosen China policy through the | - human rights, Tibet, trade, non- stage of a strategic "partnership." proliferation and so on. He is at But meanwhile the commitment to pains to avoid indicating which of | strategic "dialogue" amounts to an acknowledgment of China's heavyweight status.

China's part remains, Berger makes clear, to honor the interna-The American policy as now es- tional rules of conduct in economic







GUARDIAN WEEKLY

James Rupert in Ziguinchor

S THE rainy season nears its

end, this stretch of coastal

West Africa is bursting with

green. The Casamance River mean-

ders across a plain of mangrove, ba-

nana and palm forests, rice paddies

But the vision of Eden darkens.

Around many villages at Senegal's

southern edge, the green consists

of weeds creeping over abandoned fields and paths. Hamlets and rural

markets stand lifeless, except for

guard posts, who peer into the vege-

Senegalese soldiers at foxholes and

mous commandants, Paris-

and village garden plots.

The Clintons pay their respects at Simon Bolivar's burial place in Caracas on Monday

First Lady Ups Her Agenda

Peter Baker at Miraflores Locks, Panama Canal

A Korean cargo ship inched its way through this storied passageway between the oceans, the administrator called upon Hillary Rodham Clinton to turn the lever that opens the gates, Impressed by her performance, he offered her a

"I'm your person," she answered cheerfully. "Everybody's always, asking what I'm going to do when my husband's no longer president. I have found my calling!

Actually, the more immediate question these days is what she will do not when her husband leaves the White House but now that her daughter is gone. And the answer is plenty. With 17-year-old Chelsea living across the continent at Stanford University, the first lady is re-entering the public policy arena with a burst of activity, from a new domestic campaign for better child care to a renewed international crusade for women's rights.

Her trip here last week to meet with the hemisphere's other first ladies and visit the Panama Canal was just an opener. Last Saturday she headed back to Latin America, this time with President Clinton. Later this month, she will hop over to Ireland, Northern Ireland and England for a few days, and then next month she takes off on a 10-day journey through "the Stans," as her staff calls Central Asian republics | brated their 22nd wedding anniver-

such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. And laced through all this will be donestic trips to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles.

Aides estimate with perhaps only touch of exaggeration that Clinton will spend just two or three nights at the White House in the next month or so. If that seems like the schedale of someone avoiding the empty nest at home, that is no accident. "You can't know it's empty," the

first lady said, "if you're not there." In an interview aboard her military jet on the way home last week. Clinton talked about her daughter's absence, her own upcoming 50th birthday, her husband's new hearing aids and their plans for life after the White House. The notoriously media-wary first lady opened up with six reporters in a way she rarely does on the record, sharing stories,

making jokes and revenling a human side that normally remains hidden behind a far cooler public persona. Her energies are focused on last week's gathering of first ladies, where she pressed her Latin American counterparts to push for more participation by women in their emerging democracies, and the upcoming White House conference on child care, where she will explore ideas including a national registry

of those who watch children profes While she said she is not given to much birthday-inspired introspec tion about her life, it was clear that she and the president, who cele-

term ends in January 2001. For all the speculation about move to California or Illinois, or even Martha's Vineyard, Clinton said they plan to return to Arkansas. although she suggested that may only be a home base.

> Her husband will be one of the youngest ex-presidents and she recalled that Theodore Roosevelt "did so many things" after leaving office at 50. However, she made a face when reminded that one of those things was an unsuccessful comeback try for the presidency. She pointed out with seeming satisfaction that the Constitution now precludes such an option for Bill Clinton.

sary last weekend, have thought

about what they want to do after his

Still, she acknowledged that leaving the White House will be tough for her husband. Already, she said, he is wistful about the approaching end of his administration - never mind that it is three years away.

"My husband's a very nostalgic and philosophical man," the first lady said. "When I first met him, he was nostalgic about his boyhood in Arkansas. He just has a wonderful capacity for taking in every experience and savoring it. Now he realizes that he's got fewer years ahead of him in the White House than behind him. And so he's thinking, Maybe this is the last time I'll do this, or, 'I really should enjoy this because I don't know if that'll happen again,' " she said. "I'm not there yet. But I see that he is. He's really

'Asian Values' Devalued **Along With Currencies**

OPINION Jim Hoagland

M ONEY talks in economically vibrant America. But money weeps and moans in Southeast Asia today, sobbing out a tale of currency convulsions and investor anxiety that rolls markets and political futures in that region and to some extent globally.

The Indonesian rupiah has fallen 40 percent in value since June. Malaysia's ringgit and stock market have bounced and wobbled, declining by up to 20 percent in recent weeks. The Thai baht has been oulverized by poor management and market forces, and has been wheeled into the intensive care unit of international finance. Across Asia, bountiful boom is turning to

These abrupt changes impose heavy new burdens on the region's inhabitants. Indonesia now owes 40 percent more on its dollardenominated foreign debt of \$100 billion than it did tour months ago. Thailand has been granted condi tional bailout loans from the later national Monetary Fund, which invariably call for austerity leading to financial pain and social unrest Malaysia has had to postpone grandiose, job-providine construc

ion project Does the matter to others, and specifically to Americans, who remember Richard Nixon telling aides on Watergate tapes that he did not give a whit about the Italian line? It does. And it matters most of all how the international financial system responds to an Asian crisis of market mechanisms and human

The balit, rapials and other monies are not the only casualties of this decade's third great currency opheaval (Britain, 1992; Mexico. 1994). Just as sharply devalued are the political bubris and racial concelt known under the catch phrase Asian values.

This pseudo-ideology has been hampioned by Prime Minister Maltathic Mohamad of Malaysia and senior leader Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore to explain why their subjects could so avidly adopt Western material standards and financial systems without supposedly being nterested in the "Western" political ideals of democracy, the dignity of the individual and the rights of free speech and assembly.

Mahathir, Lee, China's rulers and their friends abroad have used the

argument to drop a curtain below East and West, and between rule and subjects. In order to get the financially, Asian workers had to content with traditional, i.e., attai tarian, political and social stre-

Mahathir's savage reaction t tervous foreign investors policy money out of Malaysia's stock asket and currency funds has expose the racist nature of his political g gument. He has denounced George Soros and other "foreign financies" for trying to destroy Malaysia a punishment for being too upply.

lation for signs of an enemy. "I say openly these people as rucists," Mahathir said in Kush An episodic, 15-year-old rebellion n the Casamance region — led by Lumpur after making a pointed it ess inflammatory version of Ebased intellectuals and an aged argument in Hong Kong during to Catholic priest - has flared anew in annual World Bank-Internation the past month. As before, the fight-Monetary Fund meeting last mont. ing has deepened political and eco-They are not happy to see us gris ! nomic uncertainty in Senegal, one of West Africa's most stable countries. per. They say we grow too last;the dan to make us poor."

Mahathir and the others seektride the self-inflicted nature of the younds. Authoritarian Indone: and brash, nouveau riche Tuilai antwardly so different in their pold all systems, are paying the pice? the all-too-similar cronvismando: cuption fostered by those systemwhich kept foreign and domest investors in the dark on key 6and commency-reserve data as to crisis approached Those investors and the

bankers now clamor for a nop... international bailout had for the and tuture uphenvals. Japan's nance minister has floated theils. of a \$100 billion regional safety as President Clinton's money aids not having the luxury of being wi less arout the rupiah, are hudding electronically, with other former. wizards in the Group of Seventoli ure out how to cope with Asiamonetary whirlwind. They must be overlook the self-inflicted names the problems of the baht, ropid ringgit and the others.

Asia's political structures are & ready too interconnected with bus ness and finance. They need the transparency and guardrais is democratic freedoms bring in them, in the West and in counts (in the East such as Japan and Soul.

Setting up a new fund even not vulnerable to blackmail by the Mahathirs of Asia is an invitation by more corruption, more investoring regard of risk, and more uphase. The wizards should have no trail. standing together against the

lution there and elsewhere in South
America.

All the remains will be moved to a

All the remains will be moved to a

The legal measures underscore a dramatic bloom in gay culture. Last month, a new gay-themed magazine

Party on the anniversary of the pension owed to his deceased part
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Throughout the city, the new rabilia, including Tahiris, the statuettes and ash trays have been a mini-industry in the statuette and ash trays have become a mini-industry in the statuette and ash trays have been a mini-industry in the statuette and a decade ago, police and mili-industry in the statuette and a decade ago, police and mili-industry in the statuette and a decade ago, police and mili-industry in the statuette and a decade ago, police and mili-industry in the statuette and a decade ago, police and mili-industry in the statuette and a decade ago, police and mili-industry in the statuette and a decade ago, police and mili-industry in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and a should ever five to see this day in the statuette and the statuette and

Desert and the humid forests along the Gulf of Guinea. Casamance, at the northern tringe of monsoonal rains, is where the land begins to grow palm trees and heavy brush. This region is an enclave, with an identity separate from Dakar," said Manudou Moussa Ba, a radio

Senegal lies mainly in the Sahel, the zone of dry grassland that crosses

West Africa between the Saliara

ers have blown up a bus with a mine. slashed to death a village family and mowed down teen-agers at a dance with automatic rifle fire. Senegalesc station director in Ziguinchor, Casamance's main town. Under troops have counterattacked, and colonial rule, "even the [whites] had hundreds of people have been retrouble imposing their authority ported killed in the violence. [and] collecting taxes here." The recent fighting complicates Casamance's separation sharp Senegal's struggle to pull itself out of poverty. That effort "is tough

signs that the war, while small, is becoming more dangerous.

Casamance and accent its differences from the rest of the country.

The rebels began fighting in 1982

with arrows, but have graduated to

automatic rifles - and this time, said

military sources - to mortars and

land mines. The current violence has

included vicious attacks on civilians.

and killed 25 Senegalese troops out-

side Ziguinchor. Since then, attack-

said at least 30 civilians are missing

after having been arrested in recent

months and accused Senegalese se-

curity forces of executing suspected

enemies without trial. Senegal's jus-

The rebellion's lenders and

sources of support are in some ways

mysterious. But its main roots are

visible in the legacies of European

rule. The scrimmage for colonies in

some of the continent's most absurd.

Along the Gambia Piece, Deaths

miles wide. Gambia's protrusion

into the heart of Senegal divides

western Senegal between north and

south, which tends to isolate

who have lived together for at least

five years -- granting them the

tion's largest labor unions, repre-

partner of a deceased gay worker.

rights advocates say tolerance re-

mains higher than in the provinces,

In Buenos Aires, where local gay

and troublesome borders.

tice minister denied the charges.

On August 19, rebels ambushed

ened into alienation in part because f another colonial legacy. Here, as enough" for a drought-prone farmhroughout Africa, the white rulers ing country with little natural wealth ended to rely on a particular ethnic and few foreign investors, a diplogroup to help manage the colony. In mat in Dakar, Senegal's capital, said, senegal, the French trained men of Human rights groups say the the Wolof tribe as administrators conflict also has stained Senegal's and Wolofs have dominated the govotherwise tolerant political culture. Recently, Amnesty International

ernment since independence.
"We still are colonized," said Edouard Diediu, an ethnic Jola 'Dakar sends down Wolof officialto govern us." Jolas are mainly ricegrowing subsistence farmers in coastal areas of Casamance, and they form the rebel movement

Residents here said Wolofs tend to look on Casanance's neonle, particularly Jolas, as backward. Still the rebellion rises tropp

more than colonial ills. Seriegal's Africa created in southern Senegal 37 years of independence have failed to redress Casamance's bitter a ness. This year, partly because of poked a finger of colonial territory | ment in Dakar set up regional coundeep into French Senegal. The recils throughout Senegal that will sulting state, Gambia, is 15 to 30 share authority for educational, cultural and development policy.

Droughts in the 1970s pushed many Northerners into the better watered Casamance, and the result

Senegal Separatist Rebellion Flares Anew

So has poverty. Ziguinchor's streets are full of unemployed youths. otting garbage and flowing sewage.

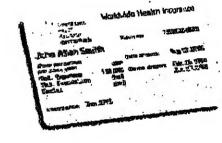
The town's problems are compounded by the fact that it has become home to an estimated 5.000 refugees from the fighting in the region; thousands more have fled the country for Gambia and Guinea-Bissau, aid workers say.

Residents and Senegalese journalats said the rebels seem to number no more than a few hundred. The figurehead of the secessionist movement is the Rev. Diamacoune Seng-hor, a 69-year-old Catholic priest. By agreement with the government, the church keeps Senghor under deten-

But he appears to have lost authority amid a splintered rebel leadership, said a church source and other Senegalese. That has left the government groping for an authoritative negotiating partner, said Cheikh Tijane Dieye, the spokesman for President Abdou Diouf.

in July, the government flew exiled rebel intellectuals from Paris to Ziguinchor for talks with Senghor and field commanders in the bush, but the meetings yielded no clear rebel response to Dakar's offer of

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Cubans Gather to Honor Guevara

Serge F. Kovaleski in Havana

THESE ARE times of extreme And for Carmen Almeida, the photo image that hangs in her bedroom of revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara lying

when we are facing a tough eco-nomic crisis, we need to follow his principles of struggle and hope. We need the strength of Che."

In one of the world's most closed political systems and few remaining socialist economies, Guevara re-

gencio Batista and bring commu-nism to this island nation four decades ago. Music praising the doctor-turned-rebel was piped through large speakers as admirers holsted Cuban flags and banners emblazoned with portraits of Gue-

wan me tood rations, power outages and endless waits for buses that are the withering rituals of her existence. "In Che, I have found a kind of god because he embodies such sacrifice, the ultimate sacrifice, the ultimate sacrifice, the ultimate sacrifice, the ultimate sacrifice, which when I seek inspiration to go on, this is what I seek in his corpse," the 33-year-old teacher said. "In this period of our history," the 33-year-old teacher said. "In this period of our history," is said. "In this period of our history," is said." In this period of our history, is an endead ago, police and mill. In May, Noticias, the nations have decade ago, police and mill. In May, Noticias, the nations have offered additionally arrested cition and erected long lines to print the own conference leaf were and endless waits for buses that are the withering rituals of her existence. The importance of Guevara's: legacy to so many Cubans was played out last Saturday as hundred long lines to briefly and out last Saturday as hundred long lines to briefly and out last Saturday as hundred long lines to briefly and out last Saturday as hundred long lines to briefly and out last Saturday as hundred long lines to briefly and change." "We are having a cultural revolution Square here in an emotional of the feroic Guerrilla and His Combat of the or 10 years and six of his comrades; in a man a decade ago, police and mill. In May, Noticias, the nations have decan the mere suspicion of being withing at each to club in news conference leaf were conference leaf were the outdon news largesting that was longting ago, rights advocate daughter. The most striking example of five or 10 years and six of the Death in Combat of the Poets in the Trois Guerrilla and His Combat of the Octab in a man decade ago, police and mill. In May Noticias, the nation of the five or 10 with great reversed leaf were the with great reversed long lines to briefl vara and revolutioary slogans.

Che Guevara Square in the central town of Santa Clara, the site of the decisive battle led by Guevara that would overthrow Batista's regime.

After Guevara's body disappeared

following his death at the age of 39,

ering on the eve of the opening

Gays Winning Acceptance in Argentina inthony Falois in Buenos Aires | benefits to homosexual couples | modernizing, and becoming linked

Senegal

Guinea-Bissau

Gambia

TS GOING to take Oscar Mercado a little more time, he says, same rights recently given to un-before it really sinks in. After all, married heterosexual couples. The when he was teenager in 1950s Buenos Aires, the government arrested him for being gay. And for years, Mercado and his partner of years, as homosexuals, did not we the right to vote.

But now, four years after his comanion's death, the Argentine gov-rument is willing to recognize their longtime union. Mercado, now 62, is a law that forbade same-sex couples one of the first 20 gay men and les from renting hotel rooms was bians to apply under a new official repealed last month as the mayor

tory for three decades.

policy here that offers the same | cited the right to "free sexuality." her, who worked in a cigarette fac name that refers to the belief that one out of 10 people in the world is "I still can't believe it," Mercado gay, began appearing on newsstands, said. "I honestly did not think I At least two popular Argentine television dramas portray gay characters

in a positive way; both have featured male and female same sex kisses.

tion from around the globe, our attitudes are becoming more modern

and more accepting."

On the fashionable Santa Fe Avmove came after three of the naenue in Buenos Aires's upscale Barrio Norte, gay youths gather openly on well-lit corners on weekend senting teachers, airlines and retail employees, extended spousal pension provisions to the surviving nights while slick-dressed men hand out coupons and fliers to gay discos, restaurants and cafes.

As with much of Latin America gay society was hidden in the shad owa for years, as gays were officially persecuted and viewed as diseased citizens and religious outcasts. Gays and lesbians were conducted by Argentina's military dictatorships from 1976 to 1983.

Gay rights advocates say that despite their huge strides in the 13 years since the military dictatorship fell, many more obstacles exist. For instance, laws barring homosexuals from the military remain on the

OR THOSE who want their history straight, who enjoy reading the words of government officials from the president on down as they attempt to deal with a serious international crisis - not filtered through print reporters, television anchormen or cloistered historians — this is a book to treasure.

It also should be read, at least portions of it, by those present-day consumers of newspapers, magazines and television news shows who think the briefly spun daily doses of what purport to be the activities at the White House capture complex presidential decision-

making even slightly.
"What's new?" is the question regularly asked when an archival book such as this is published. The quick answer here is "nothing," if what you have in mind is some stunning new fact. The true answer, however, is that a great deal here is new if you want to understand the day-to-day evolution of a policy and the people involved in a crisis through all its ups and downs. It is particularly fascinating to read the Later, word came that an American exchanges among President Kennedy; his brother Robert, the attorney general; Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara; Secretary of State Dean Rusk; national security adviser McGeorge Bundy; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Maxwell Taylor, and others almost equally well-known as they pose questions, provide answers, argue, reach decisions and frequently change them.

The plot is familiar. The Soviets clandestinely bring nuclear missiles into Cuba in 1962 and attempt to deploy them. U.S. overflights discover only for massive air raids on Cuba them. There are secret diplomatic but also for an invasion of the island

exchanges against a background of public statements. The United States puts in place a blockade and makes preparations for air strikes against the missile sites and Cuban air defenses if the missiles are not removed, with a full-scale invasion

What is not familiar, however, are the myriad steps and potential missteps over the 13 days, as disclosed in transcripts of taped meetings of the so-called Ex-Com or executive committee. The editors have bolstered the transcripts with helpful historical and political notes.

If you do nothing else, read the transcript of the meetings of Saturday, October 20, the day that McNamara said he went home from the White House thinking that perhaps they had taken a step toward nuclear war. It was a day that had President Kennedy and his aides dealing with the famous private and then public statements by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. The first, private statement said that the missiles would go if the United States made assurances that there would be no invasion of Cuba. The second, public announcement offered to exchange the Cuban weapons for withdrawal of U.S. missiles in Turkey - part of NATO's nuclear arsenal. Next came the firing on low-flying U.S. reconnaissance planes prompted by an earlier White House statement that we would retaliate for such action. U2 spy plane had been shot down and its pilot killed. As October 20 goes on, each of

these events must be dealt with. While in the room, President Kennedy clearly takes the lead, although other Ex-Com members, including his brother, share their thoughts freely. The group goes back and forth working out responses to each event: its discussions take place against a background belief that Khrushchev will not back down and that eventually the plans under way at the Pentagon - plans not



Kennedy: The president clearly takes the lead

will inevitably be implemented within the next few days.

As the pages unfold, dozens of items are discussed. A U.S. U2 has strayed over Siberia into Soviet air space; Kennedy with McNamara's support decides not to disclose it publicly so as not to embarrass Khrushchev with a p ovocation. The president and his aides go back and forth over whether to tell the NATO allies that Washington is prepared to agree to withdraw U.S.

missiles from Turkey because nuclear-armed Polaris submarines are to be stationed off Turkey as less vulnerable replacements. In the end the NATO briefing is limited to took place behind closed doors. a report on the seriousness of the situation because, as Kennedy put it, "anything else would leak."

PHOTO CORNELL CAPA

McNamara, convinced that a U.S. attack on Cuba would bring retalia-Turkey, suggests making them "inoperable. And het the Control of ficials were able to keep its operable. And let the Soviets know

that before the Cuban attack that basis, I don't believe the Soit would strike Turkey." Here's "Tommy" Thompson, former [ambassador to the Soviet Use whose analyses of Soviet and proved in retrospect almost far less, auggests that disclosing to Polaris plan would achieve bally toward persuading the Sories trade out their missiles in Colut." getting rid of the Jupiters the co

Bundy at one point reminds & president that his desire to show the world he was prepared not to real out of hand Khrushchevs offer: trade Cuban missiles for those it Turkey would inevitably lar Washington's relations not only wit NATO countries but other alle There are two different audienchere, Mr. President," Bundy says. Showing his realistic view of E

people and the allies, kennd days to destroy the Soviet and: ble invasion of Cuba, might me start these things and they li going to say: 'Well, that was a progood proposition I meaning t Turkey missile trade|."

ranced technology outlined above.

Look at Wall Street's backing for

siles in Turkey]."

points out that although taking (12 missiles out of Turkey might app. unacceptable to some, the prospe of having to fly 500 U.S. bomb: sorties a day over Cuba for said capability there, followed by apothe Turkish deal look better. Wes know how quickly everybol contrage goes when the blood 92. to flow," he says, "and that's who going to happen in NATO. When-Soviets | grab Berlin, everybook

A Kennedy-type statement we be hell of a television sound bite. the subject were Bosnia and to speaker President Clinton, It's la for all of us that Kennedy's war that day weren't leaked and that't crisis came to a successful consion, thanks in part to the fact the almost all the conversations it.

years ago remained secret. Perhaps we would have bet chances these days of solving or plex foreign policy problems—n have fewer initiatives driven print

withhold my judgment dil []?

read more than the extract to

Shashi Tharoor could become

important writer if he would be.

his political, bureaucratic and s

ministrative interests; he strole

the border between creative artic

well-written reportage.
But I am most grateful to be

Perera, Bapsi Sidhwa, Sara Sik

will follow their literary futures to

So, while congratulating sales

Rushdle and Elizabeth West of

interest.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY October 19 1997

Wired in a world without frontiers

Only the most nimble can survive the lightning pace of change in the telecoms industry, says **Antony Barnett**

T'S 2010. You're travelling through a remote part of the world. You have a phone with you - one of the latest generation nobiles, complete with a screen and Internet connection — the phone that you use at home and at work.

It rings. It's your estate agent. He has found the dream house you've spent 12 months looking for. In seconds he is sending video footage to your screen via a satellite. You love ic house. You e-mail your bank and solicitor to get things moving and decide to cut short your trip.

You call your travel agent and get her to change flights and book a hatel. She sends a photo of the accommodation plus a map of how to get there. On the train to the hotel, you switch your phone to TV and ratch up on the live Premiership football match between league leaders Arsenal and Manchester United. And you don't worry about the cost: the calls are charged at local

rate because they are channelled brough the Internet. Like it or not, this world of cheap, any time, anywhere telecommunications is on its way. This week, leading telecoms companies such as okia, Motorola, Ericsson and NEC will open the Yokosuka Research Park, 50km south of Tokyo, specifically to develop the kind of ad-

takeover bid made by WorldCom tial telephone services in competi-for the telecoms group MCI, which tion to BT and the cable companies ket for international telephone calls seems to have anufied out British. Telecom's offer for the company.

Few outside the United States

had heard of WorldCom before the news broke, and indeed five years ago it barely existed. This is a young upstart that has come from nowhere and now is the largest Internet access provider in the world and the fourth-largest long-distance operator in the US. And as if WorldCom's counterbid

weren't bad enough for BT, news came last week of a technological breakthrough that threatens its precious hold on the UK residential market. Nortel of Canada and United Utilities announced they had found a way to send undistorted Internet signals and computer data along electricity power lines at speeds 30 times greater than today's high-speed moderns. They promise cheap Internet access, plus the potential of telephone calls and

video clips two years down the road. It is hard not to feel sorry for B1. Of the former state-owned monoliths, it has tried hardest to reinvent itself as a young, hungry company.

But events this month have made look slow to react to the fastchanging world of radio waves and satellites, Ian Vance, Nortel Europe's chief telecoms scientist, is himself astonished at the speed of change. Asked for a vision of telecommunications in five years' time, he says: "I can't, I simply do not know, it's changing so fast, it is totally unleasible to think three years hence, let alone five." Nurtul is also behind the "fixed wireless" technology that has allowed Camhe \$30 billion record-breaking bridge-based Ionica to offer residen-

without the huge expense of dig-

It is these technological developments, together with the liberalisation of the global telecoms industry, that have led to a new breed of nimble and aggressive companies grabbing chunks of the \$700 billiona-year market. These new entrants are run by entrepreneurs backed by whizz-bang technology, low costs and minimal bureaucracy.

The typical new telecoms company is also hot - very hot - on marketing and packaging. Instead of nventing a product and then asking the marketing department to sell i - as so often the likes of BT do these new entrants think about what the consumer wants first and then develop the technology.

B UT perhaps the greather threat to the traditional tele-come company comes from the internet. In the past, handsome profits were made by overcharging on international calls. Technological developments and market liberalisation have forced prices down to about \$1 for a one-minute international telephone call at peak rates. But this is still far higher than what is available on the Internet, where all calls are charged at a local rate

for sending high-quality voice messages over the Internet. You won't even need a PC in your house, just a phone connected to a "smart" box on the wall.

Technologies are now available

It's not just voice, but fax as well.

ket for international telephone calls. WorldCom, for instance, offers an ging up roads and laying down international fax service over the Internet, which cuts the cost between New York and London from about 30 cents a page to 16-19 cents.

> So where do the computer giants fit in? It's no surprise that companies such as Microsoft have alread started to invest in telecoms, Last week Microsoft announced a deal with German glant Deutsche Telekom, it has already put \$1 milion into Comcast, a US cable company. And it won't stop there.

> The likes of Bill Gales will not, o course, be satisfied with having to rely on someone else's wires. In 1990 he and Craig McCnw, the US mobile phone pioneer, launched a \$9.6 billion joint venture called Teledesic. This involves using a few hundred satellites 1,400km above the Earth's surface to create an "hiternet in space" by 2002. Eventually this should allow cheap, high-speed, wire-free communication between any two points, no matter how remote. But Gates does have competition, In June, Motorola unveiled rival plans, for a \$13 billion satellite prolect called tridium, and another four consortions have similar dans.

The WorklCom bid for MCI was just the first lap of the race for telecommunication supremacy, with | The most important deal to adcompetitors barely off their starting blocks. By the time the finishing line is in sight, observers predict the upheaval will have had an impact on society as great as the industrial revolution and that the companies on the winders' rostrum may be as unknown to us now as the technologies that put them there. — The Observer

national corporations, both in its

emphasis on preparing children for

work along the lines demanded by

The Conservatives remain the

party of small business, and if there

s to be a real realignment of British

Buchanan has in the United States.

role is that 20 years of deflationary

ic sector borrowing requirement.

as any good supermarket chain

knows; is always right.

ndustry and in its much more posi-

ive line on a single currency.

HE Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan, sent a shudder through financial markets after he warned that wage pressure in the US could trigger inflation. His remarks reignited worries that the US's central bank is considering

In Brief

another rise in interest rates. Khomeowners won another month's respite from the threat of dearer mortgages after the Bank of England decided to keep interest rates at their current level. It decided not to follow the lead of the German authorities, who tightened rates

> C HANCELLOR Helmut Kohl's cabinet, after months of delay, approved Germany's purchase of 180 Eurofighters at a cost of \$13 billion.

by 30 basis points as a pre-

emptive strike against inflation

despite record unemployment.

THE London stock market Concrete a session of extraordinary activity as mergers worth more than \$100 bilfion were struck, prompting hopes of more mega-mergers. vance was the proposed 8 10 bil lion merger of Guinness and Grand Metropolium, And BAT, the British tobacco and finance group, is in advanced merger discussions with the insurer Zurich Group over the creation of a \$36 billion financial services empire that would dominate the European market.

BROWN & Williamson, a subsidiary of BAT, will contribute to a \$300 million research foundation as part of a Miami settlement ending the first lawsuit over passive smoking to go to trial.

F

politics they may emerge as a pop-ulist party talking the same language of economic protectionism as Pat S HARE prices in BSkyB television fell sharply after media tycoon Rupert Murdoch said he expected a duil performance from the satellite broad-

> SUNTOURS, the UK tour operator, had debts of up to 816 million when it collapsed.

The Conservatives need to recog-FOREIGN EXCHANGES nise that one reason the state has

economic policies and inegalitarian social and taxation policies have led 1 2 2095-2.2128 1 2.2266-2.2294 19.98-20.01 19.99-20.01 to a concentration of public spending on allevisting poverty and unemployment. The reason, para-58.60-58.70 58.61-68.83 2,2392-2,2422 10.81-10.82 10 81-70.82 9.53-9.64 9.55-9.56 2.8390-2.6429 Germany Hong Kong .. 12.58-12.59 12.47-12.48 1.1118-1.1147 1,1057-1,1081 2,790 2,793 2,785-2,788 195.99-198.24 198.20-198.41 3.1997-3.2031

nd 2.5075-2.5110 11.38-11.37 239.60-239.82 12.28-12.27 BCU

Tories need to restock their shelves with sellable ideas

COMMENT Larry Elliott

RCHIE NORMAN, the man behind the supermarket chain Asda's success and now helping to modernise Britain's Tory machine, should understand all too well the redicament in which the Conservaves find themselves five months fter their morale-sapping defeat in le general election. editors for introducing me to Pat

Labour under Tony Blair has ecome the political equivalent of a

he entire political market place. You want an ethical arms-sales Lab pact? You got it. Fancy paying for higher education through student fees rather than higher income. tax? Take a look at our new range of roducts, entirely free of socialism,

ket Plc to One Nation Tories 'R' Us. In order to win, you have to be competing in the same game, not be a niche player. Mr Portillo and Mr Lilley recognise this, "Mr Blair's great achievement is directionless leadership," the former Defence Secretary said in his mea cuipa lecture in Blackpool last week. "He appears to be in control, but no one mows to where he is heading." Mr Portillo denies that he has

finally comes to an end.

nad a Damascene conversion to one-nation Toryism, but most independent observers would say that modern hypermarket, a flash new he has kept his concern for the poor out-of-town job that drives all the well disguised over the years. His ompetition out of business by gath- was the party, after all, that severed We everything the shopper might | the link between pens conceivably want under one roof. ings, presided over the biggest rise Labour threatens to monopolise in inequality in Britain's history, used unemployment as the main.

tool for bringing down inflation and, policy? Step up to the counter over here and see what Robin Cook can offer you. Want to talk about a Libsup gesture with the scrapping of the single-parent child benefit top-up.

Given that legacy, the Conservatives may discover that public rehabilitation will take more than a bit more inclusion for minority groups, the use of a few of the touchy-feely in which rightwing ideas are repack-aged as radical initiatives. buzz words of the modern age, and a bit of patience until Tony's hugathon with the British public

Do you get the picture? The more dued in Conservatives certainly do. Paced with the prospect of becoming the political equivalent of a late-night convenience, store, Michael Portillo and Peter Lifley spent last week desperately trying to change their brand image from Free Mar hand image from Free Mar

Michael Portillo: revealed as a orn-again one-nation Tory

the 1960s and 1970s were fatally undermined by economic crises; this time the Conservatives left Britain

One option for the new Tory leader, William Hague, would be to

The advantage of this approach is that it would claims with the Opposi-tion line on Europe, and that taken over constitutional reform. The dis-advantage is that it might sound a trifle backward-looking when set against Mr Blair's millennium vision

party's friends in big business, no longer applies because the party has few friends left in big business.

become a truly conservative party - not just talking about job insecurity but doing something about it, and taking serious steps to safeguard the environment.

over constitutional reform. The dis-

(whatever that is).

A second possible drawback, that
it would offend the Conservative Labour is now the party that better represents the interests of multi-

But even to achieve this, the Conservatives will have to rethink their attitude to the state. At present, the easter over the next two years. glorification of the nation state then it comes to foreign policy and the constitution sits uneasily with the idea that the state is powerless when it comes to economics, and positively malign when it comes to social policy. A liquidator has been appointed

> 2.2108-2.2128 2.8409-2.8436

doxically, why we cannot have Keynesian economic policies is that monetarism has screwed up the pub-It does not have to be like that. If, and it is a big if, the Government can restore health to the public. Netherlands 8.1991-3.2024 2.5436-2.5388 finances, the next few years could 11.30-11.37 easily see the state playing a more active role, in industrial and eco-288.70.289.04 289.71.220.04 239.97-240.23 nomic policy as well as health and 12.13.12 14 education. Labour already recog-nises this. It knows that is what the Builtzerland | 2.3713-2.3744 | 2.3417-2.3443 1.6226-1.6236 1.6125-1.6134 customer wants. And the customer,

1.4478-1.4498 | 1.4501-1.4622 | PTSG 100 Share Jacket up. 0.1 at \$300.1. PTSG 250 Index

Writing After Midnight in India

Quy Amirthanayagam

MIRRORWORK 50 Years of Indian Writing, 1947-1997 Edited by Salman Rushdle and Elizabeth West Henry Holt, 553pp. \$30; paperback, \$15.

W HEN anthologists put to-gether a vibrant, richly comunderappreciated literature spanning a period of half a century and meant to coincide with India's 50 years of independence, it is a matter for unqualified gratitude. Especially when one of the editors, Salman | from Indian poetry written in Eng-Rushdie, is the writer who both by his own work and his championship | space: Some of the excerpts from of Indian writing in English has put | prose writers who have not yet this literature on the map of international letters. But let me crave the reader's indulgence for commenting on the shortcomings of this excellent collection before proceeding to a high percentage of the writers rep-

Rushdie avers that "Anglo-Indian literature' represents perhaps the introduction celebrates them for most valuable contribution that India has yet made to the world of world," but the phenomenon should prose style out of reading books in though this extract itself is hilaribooks." This remark must surely be have been addressed more fully, and an oversight, for he cannot mean reasons sought for such an exodus. that what he is promoting is superior It is easy to fault anthologies, educated peers; but no extract can tion for Allen Sealy, though I with a sense of perspective.

to the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the plays of Kalidasa, the Tamil classics, etc. And how can he so gratuitously put down the 16 "official languages" of India when he admits he cannot read any of these languages: How can he judge O.V. Vijayan (who writes in Malayalam) he makes a cursory reference to site collection of a hitherto I these writers he is surely guilty of

transmitting received opinion or indulging in special pleading. The next major inadequacy is that a book which purports to cover Indian writing has no selections lish. This cannot be due to lack of proved their mettle could have been left out to accommodate some

highly accomplished poets. Another disquieting feature is that resented are expatriates from the Indian subcontinent. Rushdie in his

especially because the process of selection is so much influenced by the vagaries of personal taste and individual judgment, but I will not succumb to this temptation. Given the range of their search among material from India and overseas, given that the English-reading public of or V.R. Ananthamurthy (Kannada) India could exceed in numbers, if it or Amrita Pritam (Punjabi)? When has not already, the entire population of Great Britain, Rushdie and

Their sense of literary savor is disappointed with a particular selection, it is because the excerpt cannot give you an adequate sense of why the longer work is so important. This is true even of the muchhailed Arundhati Roy, whose novel The God Of Small Things is now so the extract whether it is deserved

fame or trendy notoriety. Of course, the great achievers of Indian writing in English are suitably recognized. There is Nirad Chauduri, a maverick autodidact holding a "conversation with the who forged an original Victorian English, deprived as he was of any English-speaking community of I don't share Rushdie's admira-

convey his irreverent, even iconoclastic attitude toward the muchvaunted heritage of India. If there is a need for anti-chauvinistic common sense, India needs it more than most: Chauduri was the answer and the antidote. Another mischievous rebel in-

cluded here is G.V. Desani, whose tour-de-force All About H. Haterr is, as Anthony Burgess called it, a coterie classic. Mulk Raj Anand, a who in Meatless Days writes it pioneer and humanitarian, deserves liant prose, Firdaus Kanga, And his space though he is not to be Gosh and Kiran Desai, who has could fill with distinction all the that she is Anita Desal's daughts Their sense of literary savor is impeccable, and when one is a trifle find in these pages Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, a fine writer for the most part but controversial, and Anita Desai, one of the best and most pro-lific of Indian writers in English. Rushdie, who enriched the English language with Indianizing accretions to the extent that he created not only famous; one cannot determine from | a new idiom but a new style, is here with the justly celebrated excerpt.
"The Perforated Sheet" from Midnight's Children. There is Rohlnton Mistry, who in the end may surpass all others. There is Vikram Seth, who was a fine poet but became a mediocre and long-winded novelist,

collection, let me tell them not dream of literary dynastics. It is end all dynasties that Jawais Nehru spoke on the attainm Indian independence; that was indian independence; that was indianated in Tryst with Destiny (a transmit). this famous speech opens int Let us also not exaggers schievement. We must comp achievement. We miss the years of American or British is the history, or the Carlibean is sance (Derek Walcott, V.S. Navance Phillips, Roy Heath et al.), remember that within 50 years. Russia, we had Tolatoy, Dodores. and Turgeney. Let us calend.



PROFESSORSHIP IN SOCIOLOGY (Ref: 97/L004C)

Department of Sociology and Social Policy

The Department of Sociology and Social Policy wishes to appoint a Professorship in Sociology beginning January 1998 or as soon as possible thereafter

The successful candidate will join a thriving department, which already has five professorships, and will be expected to enhance and reinforce the Department's international reputation for high quality research. It is one of the leading departments of sociology in the United Kingdom and the University is seeking a candidate of international calibre.

The Department has strengths in the following areas of sociology: political sociology; criminology and policing; stratification and mobility; medical sociology and health; the sociology of economic life; and education and labour markets. It is desirable that the successful candidate is able to contribute to research and teaching in one of these areas.

The major duties of the post will be to teach, research and publish in a relevant field of sociology.

It is essential that the successful candidate has a primary or higher degree in sociology or cognate discipline, teaching experience at third level, and a significant and substantial output of good quality publications. It is desirable, but not essential, that the successful candidate have a record of attracting research funds.

Further details about the Department of Sociology and Social Policy can be found on the internet at http://www.qub.ac.uk/ss/ssp.

Informal enquiries can be made to Professor John Brewer, Department of Sociology and Social Policy, telephone (01232) 245133 ext. 3749, FAX (01232) 320668, or j.brewer@qub.ac.uk.

Further particulars (please quote Ref: L004C) are available from the Personnel Office, The Queen's University of Belfast, Northern Ireland, BT7 1NN.

Tel: (01232) 273246/273044, 273854 (answering machine) or FAX (01232) 324944.

Closing date: 28 November 1997

Committed to an Equal Opportunities policy and selection on merit, the University welcomes applications from all sections of the community. Under its affirmative action programme it particularly welcomes applications from women for academic posts

The Ohorn's University of Bellist

the papua new guinea university of technology

Director

Appropriate Technology Community Development Institute (ATCDI)

Applications are invited from qualified persons for the above position. The institute entitle to promote the use of technologies appropriate to Papua New Guinea's social and exprognic climate in rural situations.

The Director will be responsible for programme development and implementation and the condinat of a small team of specialist staff in the collation and dissemination of appropriate rectinology and community development information through networks in Papua New Quints and oversess. The Director has overall responsibilities for the successful and effective management and operation of the institute and is accountable to the ATCDI Board of Management. His/her specific responsibilities will include the following: to direct and supervise the professional of the Institute, to supervise the workshop and technical staff functions to supervise staff training and organisation; to ensure the keeping of accurate linguistic records; to ensure the efficient use of the institute's personnel and resources in order to achieve the aims and objectives of the institute, to acquire support from UOT and from outside funding bodies and develop sources of income for the institute

The successful applicant will have a first degree in a relevant discipline and extensive postgraduate experience in working with small communities in business and development of the communities of the successful applicant will be successful applicant with a successful applicant will be successful applicant will be successful applicant with a successful applicant will be successful applicant elects. He/she should have practical technical and managerial experience of at least 5 years, and should have demonstrated substantial leadership.

Salary per annum: Director Grade 2 K46,140 - K70,669; Director Grade 1 K35,090 - K38,836. Applicants should apply in writing, giving full details of qualifications and experience plus names, addresses and telephone or lax numbers of three referees (they must also indicate clearly their contact address and telephone/lax number). Applications should be sent to The Registrar, PNG University of Technology, Private Mail Bag, LAE, Papua New Guinea by 31 October 1997. Further general information may be obtained from the Associa Commonwealth Universities (46142), 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H0PF (tel. 0171 387.8572 ext 206; fax 0171 813 3055, email appts@acu ac.uk).

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SCF is the UK's largest international voluntary agency working for the rights and welfare of children in the UK and over 50 of the world's least developed countries. The Programmes Department of SCF has recently been involved in a major restructuring, bringing our UK/Europe and overseas work together and enabling us to maximise our atrengths as a global organisation. This has created the following new and exciting opportunities:-

PROGRAMME FUNDING UNIT MANAGER £25,143 incl. LWA

SCF's international programme relies on significant levels of grant income. The Programme Funding Unit has recently been restructured to ensure SCF is able to affectively manage current grants and to compete successfully for a range of future funds in order to support the work of the Programmes Department. You will have responsibility for six staff and will lead on:

- Developing funding strategies
- Designing systems to support financial planning
- Establishing a clear framework for effectively accessing and managing grants You will require:
- In-depth understanding of development issues
- Extensive experience of negotiating and managing grants
- Understanding of the funding and finance needs of a complex programme Understanding and experience of managing people and finances

EMERGENCIES AND FOOD AID OFFICER East/Central Africa Section

£20,595 Incl. LWA

Reporting to the Regional Director, you will be the first point of contact when colleagues and the world at large need information or advice relating to our emergency and food aid programmes in East and Central Africa. As well as managing emergency programmes and grants, you will also take responsibility for food aid.

You'll need experience of managing overseas development work and, more specifically, will have been involved at a senior level - either in the field or al headquarters - in emergency operations and food aid programmes. Excellent communication skills and the ability to establish and maintain effective

working relationships with a wide range of people, together with highly developed enalytical skills are essential for this key post.

For further information and an application form please write to: Jackse Denton, Human Resources - UK Programmes (Team 4), SCF, 17 Grove Lane, Cambarwell. London SE5 8RD.

Closing date for completed application forms: Friday 7th Nevember 1997. Fax: 0171 703 2278.

SCF aims to be an equal opportunities employer.

Save the Children

Eastern Africa Regional Office



Rufiji Delta and FloodPlain: Environmental Management and Biodiversity Conservation of Forests, Woodlands and Wetlands Project,

IUCN is providing technical support to the Rulli District Administration in Tanzania in Implementing an imp and multi-disciplinary five-year project that aims at promoting the long-term conservation and "wise use" of the Purific River delta and floodplain ecosystems. These comprise mangrove forests and estuaries, floodplain ecosystems. wetlands, lakes, riparian forests, wetland edge woodlands and coastal forests. Major components of Profest beliefe constal forests. Project include capacity building, enhancing the livelihoods of local communities, environmental planning and management, and the harmonisation of conservation objectives and human development needs. Proposity awareness, as well as the austainable use of natural resources, are also important objectives for the project.

He/She will assist with the overall supervision and direction of the Project, and the development and it mentation of an Environmental Management Plan. Day to day work will include into ninistration and District Council, planning and oversight of project activities at village, ecosystem and dail levels, counterpart training and capacity building within the District Administration, especially for environment

The candidate must have at least a second degree in a relevant discipline and a minimum of ten yet professional experience in natural resource management and environmental planning, particularly in treatment end/or wetlands. The Ideal candidate will have a biophysical background, some experience of land up planning at a senior level and exposure to hydrological issues. S/he will have the stally to lead a fed base team, familiarity with working in projects in the developing world, experience of working with communities at integral a provincion of transmission of the communities of the communitie deally, a knowledge of Kiswahili.

Technical Advisor - Socio-Economics/Community Development : He/She will be responsible for technical input to the community aspects of the project, especially in relative socio-economio and gender analysis, community natural resource planning; villaga environmental plans a l icipation of communities in the implementation of the district environmental management plan-

The candidate must have at least a second degree in a relevant discipline and belives the and leave at least a second degree in a relevant discipline and belives the and leave at least a second degree in a relevant discipline and belives the and leave at least a second degree in a relevant discipline and belives the profit in the profit experience of rural socio-economic surveys in developing countries, a knowledge of edesystem manests leaves, and experience of implementing small-acale rural development activities, as well as in address countries issues. See a considerate of Kissing species of the considerate o gender issues. Field experience of interacting with communities in Africa, and a working knowledge of Kestelland would be a strong exhauster.

Both posts will be based in the field at Utet, headquarters of Ruffli Clatrict, in Intend, southern Tenzaria end call for field work within the Ruthi District as well as representation of the project to dening Government Applicants should submit letters of application, detailed curriculum vitae and names of tree policitifs referees to: The Regional Representative, IUCN Eastern Africa Regional Office, P.O. Box 68200, Natrob Regional Communication (1997). QUARDIAN WEEKLY October 19 1997

APPOINTMENTS & COURSES 21

FACULTY OF SCIENCE DEPARTMENT: BIOLOGY

Professor

Requirements: Ph.D in Terrestrial Animal Ecology; a proven record of research; at least ten years tertlary teaching experience.

Job description: Teaching Terrestrial Animal Ecology up to fourth year level and general courses at junior level; supervision of projects in related areas.

Lecturer

Requirements: Ph.D or equivalent in Molecular Biology; research experience and exposure to teaching up to fourth year level; an interest or background in Microbiology will serve as strong recommenda-

Job description; Teaching Molecular Biology up to fourth year level and general courses - Including Microbiology and preparatory courses - at junior level.

Date of assumption of duties: January 1998.

Contact persons: Mr Andrew K Kanime at +264-61- 206-3151 or Ms Monica Heita at +264-61- 206-3102.

Fringe banefits: The University of Namibia offers competitive salaries and the following frings benefits: • pension fund/gratuity scheme medical aid scheme

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Non-Namibian citizens may be appointed for a 3-year, renewable con-

Application procedure: Applications in writing, accompanied by a curriculum vites stating full details of present salary notch, increment date, the earliest available date when duty can be assumed and including three referees should be submitted to: The Head, Recruitment and Adminis-

tration, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoak, Namibia. Pratiminary telegraphic appli-cations may be made via fax +264-61-208-3843/ 208-3003 or E-mail: akanlme@unam.na.



Disaster Preparedness Advisor c.£23,000

The British Red Cross cares for people at home and abroad, meeting the needs of vulnerable people in times of emergency.

The International Programme Advisory and Development Department (IPADD) is a growing department with a key role in providing advice to operational desks, developing policies and procedures as well as undertaking research to enhance programme effectiveness. The department plays an important role in BRCs International Programming, with a widening sphere of influence both within the Red Cross and the wider international humanitarian sector. An exciting opportunity for a Disaster Preparedness (DP) Advisor has arisen.

You will have responsibility for providing specialist advice on the policy and operational aspects of the Management of DP Programmes. You will also be involved in ongoing research and policy work. You will have at least three years' overseas experience and a Masters degree or equivalent in a relevant subject. A solid grounding in both theory and practice and the ability to produce clear written work will be essential. You will work with a team of three other Advisors and will report to the Head of Department. The position necessitates you to work abroad for up to 60 days per year.

For an application form and and information pack, please send a large self addressed envelope, quoting reference number RSM/DPA/GW in the top left hand corner of the envelope to: The British Red Cross Society, Human Resources Department, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, London SWIX 7EJ. The closing date for receipt of completed applications is: 31 October 1997.



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Senior Management Opportunities in East and Central Africa

£24,368 p.a. + benefits

The Save the Children Fund is the UK's largest international voluntary agency working for the rights and welfare of children worldwide. We have a long history of work across East Africa and more recently have also established and developed programmes more broadly across the 'Great Lakes' region. The work ranges from emergency relief to longer term work including health, food security, social policy and community development.

PROGRAMME DIRECTOR - RWANDA

SCF has been operational in parts of the Great Lakes region for many years and Rwanda since 1994. Following an initial emergency response, the programme developed into a very large regional family tracing programme, with significant inputs n health and social policy at national and provincial level. Recently the tracing work has decreased and a broader social welfare programme is developing to address the needs of vulnerable children. In addition we have food security advisors working at national level. The programme director is also responsible for SCF's programme in Burund! where SCF has been working in support of the Ministry of Health for one year, has seconded a food security advisor to WFP and is involved with inaccompanied children. Ref: PD/RWA

PROGRAMME DIRECTOR -**DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO**

SCF's involvement in former Zaire dates from 1994 when large numbers of alugaes fied Rwanda to neighbouring countries. Until recently managed from Rwanda, programme activities have focused on the identification and reunification of unaccompanied children in the Eastern part of the DRC. SCF is also working in the health sector supporting facilities in the N and S Kivu regions. We are now working to expand the programme in support of the local Congolese population in the broad areas of health, nutrition, social welfare and education. This will include working alongside and in support of local NGOs and other organisations, whilst maintaining an emergency response capacity. The PD will take responsibility for setting up SCF's base in Kinshese and making appropriate contacts to facilitate the expansion of our work into other areas of the country. Ref: PD/DRC

For both the Programme Director posts you will have overall responsibility for the management and strategic development of the country programme and for ensuring that SCF contributes effectively to meating the long and short-term needs of children, in accordance with SCF's global programme strategy. For either post, you will need substantial international senior management experience of overseas relief and development programmes, demonstrating skills in financial, resource and staff management and development, strong analytical and conceptual skills, excellent team building and teadership skills, political awareness and expense of working in an area where security is an issue. Fluent in written and spoken French and English, you will also have strong communication and interpersonal skills with expenence of senior level negotiation, flaison and representation.

HEAD OF REGIONAL OFFICE - EAST AND **CENTRAL AFRICA**

The Kenya based SCF regional office provides advice on SCF policy and strategies for both the London HQ and field offices throughout East and Central Africa. As head of this office and leader of a regional support team, you will facilitate team working and sharing of information across the region. You will also be responsible for ensuring the pursuit of SCF's global programme strategy and for carrying forward organisational and programme changes to ensure child-focused development is central to SCF's work in the region. This approach will be fostered by working closely with programme directors in the region, providing them with technical advice and support for their individual country projects.

You will need significant and varied international experience of ratiof and development work, preferably in East and Central Africa. This will vary from work at grass roots level to negotiating and networking at national and international level. To meet the particular challenges of this senior and influential position you will also need leadership, consulting and communication skills, manabement experience." considerable analytical and conceptual ability and an understanding of the political and economic situation in the region. Ref: HRO/ECA

Salaries should be tax free and come with a good benefits package, including accommodation, other living expenses and generous leave. All posts are offered on 25 month contracts and have accompanied status.

For further details and an application form for all the above posts write with CV for ref HRO/ECA to Jenny Thomas and for refs PD/RWA and PD/DRO to Alice Desira. Overseas Personnel, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 793 7610. Closing date: 14th November 1997.

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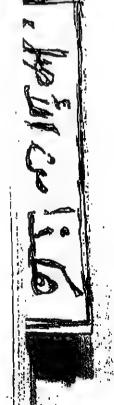
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PROGRAMME DIRECTOR £24,368 p.a. + benefits

Zimbabwe

One of your key tasks will be leading the development of the Country strategy for the next four years. You will also be involved in taking forward innovative changes in the programme which include supporting the development of local organisations to take over programme delivery. The Zimbabwe programme has taken the lead on child rights work in SCF's Southern African region and also manages a regional risk mapping advisory programme. The country programme has a well deserved reputation for being a testing ground for innovative ideas and approaches. Ref; PD/ZIM

PROGRAMME DIRECTOR

£22,145 p.a. + benefits

Lesotho

This represents a unique opportunity to radically transform an existing programme and at the same time make a major contribution to new inter-regional programme management and strategy development, in this position you will be expected to lead the programme through a key period of transition. This will involve developing new projects, identifying new donors, and restructuring and re-building the team, to deliver the new programme. It will also involve developing new ways of working, particularly looking at links with our work in South Africa. Ref: PD/LES

For both posts, we are looking for creative and dynamic managers with substantial international senior management experience of overseas development programmes, demonstrating skills in financial, resource and staff management and development, strong analytical and conceptual skills, excellent team building and eadership skills. Strong communication and interpersonal skills and the ability to manage change are also key requirements.

The posts are both offered on 25 month contracts and have accompanied status. Salaries should be tax free. You can also expect generous benefits packages, including accommodation, flights and other living expenses.

For further details and an application form write with CV, quoting appropriate eference, to: Jenny Thomas, Overseas Personnel Administrator, Africa, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 793 7610. Closing date: 10th November 1997.

SCF alms to be an equal opportunities employer.



DRUG SCHEME PROGRAMME CO-ORDINATOR FOR ALL BNMT IN NEPAL

The Britain-Nepal Medical Trust is a well established nongovernmental organisation working in Nepal's Eastern region with government and non-government partners in the fields of uberculosis control, essential drug supplies and community health. It employs 150 staff and has an annual budget of £400.000.

The DSP Co-ordinator is responsible for the planning, implementation and evaluation of BNMT's Drug Scheme Programme and for defining overall programme direction. This includes developing proposed new areas of work at the community level. The Co-ordinator also represents the DSP in meetings with government officials and other organisations, and is responsible for training BNMT staff and others in drug supply management and rational drug use. The post involves a good deal of travelling from the base in Biratnagar and is managed by BNMT's country Director.

Qualifications: Medical doctor or pharmacist

EXPERIENCE OF EBSENTIAL drug supply, programme management and working with communities in developing

Skills:

Good communicator and team worker, computer literate.

If necessary Nepali language training would be provided prior to taking up the 3 year contract from March/April 1998. The starting salary is £11,300. Benefits include accommodation and home leave flight.

An application form and job description are available

B.N.M.T., 16 East Street, Tonbridge, Kent TN9 1HG. UK, Tel: 44 (0) 1732 360284 Fax: 44 (0)1732 363876.

E-Mail 106133.2134@compuserve.com

Closing date for applications, 14 November 1997. OXFORD HOUSE COLLEGE, Interviews to be held mid December 1997. ONDON S, OXFORD STREET WIR TRE

CARE Australia is an international independent, operational humanitarian agency which responds to human need through development programs and emergency aid relief.CARE Australia has two opportunities available in its Middle East operations:

REGIONAL PROGRAMME COORDINATOR: JORDAN

This position, based in the Middle East Regional Office in Amman, Jordan, will be responsible to the strategic planning, specific programme development, monitoring & evaluation, project in programme review, reporting and programme analysis, dealing with both missions and dones

The successful applicant will have demonstrated skills, ability and knowledge in:- program development, monitoring & evaluation, reporting requirements and programme review, data requirements, excellent communication skills, preparation and critical review of proposels and reports, high level negotiation and liaison skills, development of project budgets, and leaders in and management skills.

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FINANCE MANAGERS

for Former Yugoslavia, Azerbaijan, Guinea, Liberia, Tanzania,

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Requirements: University degree in accounting CPA, 3-5 years

relevant experience knowledge of fund accounting, procurement an

In. Magmat. Of USAID and UN cooperative agreements; knowledge

of SunSystems, MS Office and Excel; at least 2 years' exp. Managing

funds for development projects; overseas exp. In refugee setting

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supervisor, trainer and health coordinator; Positions for 12 months.

For DRC, Former Yugoslavia and Azerbaljan contact: Andrew

Robarts: andrew@intrescom.org. For East and West Africa

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Contact: Susan Richl: susanr@intrescom.org.

TEACH ENGLISH

212-551-3170.

An opportunity exists for an experienced Community Development Program Officer, with CAREIn Years This position requires experience in donor liaison, multi sector needs assessment and program development, especially in gender issues and women's groups, preferably in an Islam culture.

Applications should be sent to, and further information on these positions can be obtained igni

The Regional Manager CARE Australia Middle East Office PO Box 5082 Amman JORDAN

Ph: 982 6 5527921 Fax: 982 6 5527951 Applications close two weeks from the date of this edition of The Guardian Weekly



Concern is seeking to recruit staff for the following demanding

HEALTH ADVISER - Dublin based

The Elexith Adviser will advise on and support the development of public health and primary health care as a core competency in Contem Owne

Applicants should have a infimum of three years experience in the management of NGO emergency and primary health care programs overseas, shrould look! (a) a MD with a qualification in tropical med and/or a Masters in Public Health (MPH) (International) or (b) last bealth background with an MSt (Policy and Planning) and/or as M3 (International) Excellent interpersonal, research, reporting programming and training skills are essential. Applicants should be computer literate and he available to undertake overseas assign totalling forer mough per aunum

NUTRITION OFFICER - Dublin based HEALTH OFFICER - Dublin based

The primary responsibility of both officers will be the assessment programme act up activities associated with an emergency programme. addition to duries for training leadth and notition staff on Comemergency register, maniforing emerging markinum and health one i developing countries and networking with NGOs and professional institut in addition to undertaking assignments as part of emergency programme Applicants should have a minimum of three years experience is exert health/nutrition projects in an NGO setting. The Nutrition office hold a primary degree in nutrition or dietetics. The Health Officer's hold a primary Medical/Health Science Degree or hold a SIA/IN qualification. Both posts require excellent interpersonal, report with and training skills in addition to being computer literate. Applica should have the ability to cope with the traumas of emergency work as willing to be deployed to entergency programmes at year shart suits For further information please contact Deirdre Righy, Telephone 68-1-4754162, Par 00-353-1-4754649 E-mail delrdre.right@ Closing date for applications is Friday 14 November 1997.

for DRC, S.Sudan, Kenya and Tanzania: MINES ADVISORY GROUP Requirements: MD or RN with MPH, previous experience as

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No: 01900 827088. The closing date for applications is Monday, November 1997.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

APPOINTMENTS & COURSES 23

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ax: +44 117 973 7308. E-mall: Sarah.Harding@bris.ac.uk Entrance requirements: 2nd class Honours Degree or equivalent professional qualifications and/or experience.



The International Rescue Committee (IRC), a not-for-profit, non-Country Director (Kigali, Rwanda):

IRC began relief operations in Re-ands in the summer of 1994, and it working to improve the overall living conditions of the Rwandar population by focusing on health care, water and sanitation, nutrition. population by focusing on neatth care, water and sanisation, humanon, rprisa, support to unaccompanied minors, and rehabilitation assistance to and renames. The County Director manages an approximately \$8 million (18 grants), 22 expatriate, and over 250 local staff, rats: MA or MS degree in related field, at least five years of international nt experience; previous supervisory experience; previous budget and fiscal oversigh ponsibilities; excellent communications skills, strong written and verbal Prenet lik Position is for 1-2 years. Contact Susan Richl. R-mail: susant@interacom.org

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rovides emergency reile? supplies, shehter/infrastructure rehabilitation, incornation, and public health services to refugees and internally displace people in

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'outset: andrew Robarts email:motrow@interscom.org. Par. 212-551-3170

Regional Office

Technical Adviso District Environmental Plenning Mt Elgon Conservation and Development Project,

The Eastern Africa Regional Office Of JUCN - The World Conserve Union seeks to recruit a Technical Advisor, District Environments Planning to work with the Mt Eigon Conservation and Development Project in Uganda, a project supporting the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the Ministry of Natural Resources. The eject aims to conserve the blockvaralty of Mr Eigon National Park and promote austainable development initiatives in communities adjecent to the National Park to leviate pressure on park resources.

The Technical Advisor will play a catalytic and facilitating role, by placing emphasis on strengthening capacity within District Administration stati to formulate and implement sub-county and district environments plans. Environmental plans will be based on the state of the distric asource base, address environmental degradation processes, an introduco a stratogy for sustainable natural resource use which onserves the natural resources while addressing the deve needs of the District.

The condidate i must have a relevant postgraduate degree and at least avon years relevant protossional experience. He/she should have:

- demonstrated expertise and experience in land use planning, natural resource assessment and management, and environmental monitoring
- demonstrated expertise and experience in participatory approaches to planning an understanding of environmental economics and Government
- demonstrated ability to identify training needs and to plan and implement participatory training and extension crograms.
- excellent communication skills familiarity with working in the developing world preferably in Africa

demonstrated capacity to work as part of a multidisciplinary learn experience and skills in database management and analysis

te OEPA is a two-year position based in the Mr. Eighn Conservation and Development Project office in Mode Applicants should send letters of application, detailed curriculum vitae

and names of three professional referees to The Regional Representative, IUCN Eastern Africa Regional Office PO B is 68200 Nairobi, Kenya or fax 252 2 890615 by 5th Novenitiv 1197 Collshortisted candidates will be contacted

Center Director

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Trudy Cullen
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Letter from Bamako

Grey areas

Y FRIEND Coulibaly has just moved house. He has

left the suburbs and returned to

live with his mother. Coulibaly

wife and three children are now

squashed into three rooms and

tiny yard. The spacious four-bed-

room villa he built from consul-

tancy fees is looking for a tenant.

plained, "and our traditions are

strong. My mother did not wish

to leave the house or the street

was up to me to return to look

after her when my father died."

I visited the new installations.

Although Madame Coulibaly as-

fine, it was clear she was suffer-

cramped in her new courtyard.

To cheer her up, her husband

has planned with an architect to

build three more rooms upstain

as soon as the finances allow. No

one in the family questions the

decision to move back into town:

duty to one's mother is sacred.

Our friend Cathy's mother

came to stay. She is 82 years

old, but she comes every year to

suburb in Southern Indiana.

USA for the wilds of West Africa.

Mother has to change aero-

planes at least twice, so Cathy

routes her through the ensies

and warmest airports - Mother

is in Bamako she survives on

cannot take the cold. She cannot

take the heat either, so when she

air-conditioning. But we take her

around during the cool season

thate November until February)

or in the evenings when she is

always the queen of the soirte.

Naturally, everyone defers to he

nge and seniority and she is a

great charmer. But there is also

another factor explaining her

see you with your mother,

Cuthy," explained a Malian

We hear that old people in

friend. "Very few white people

bring their parents with them.

Europe and America are all that

away in homes. That is very shocking for us. You are differ

ent because your mother is her

This reminds me of the

reactions of a group of Africant I escorted around Geneva one

with you."

popularity, "It is so wonderful to

Bamako, leaving her safe garden

sured me that everything was

ing. Even cooking is pretty

where she has always lived. Solt

"I am the eldest son," he ex-

Robert Lacville

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Vanishing forests loss of the world'

UTSIDE the perimeter fence of Farnborough airfield, 60 people are listening to a woman reciting the names of Guatemalan political prisoners who have been tortured. "Mario Sanchez . . . Jorge Alberto . . . Gilberto Caal . . .

Inside the Ministry of Defence property, well out of sight of the road, the annual Copex arms fair is getting under way. Delegates to the Contingency and Operational Pro-curement Exhibition are being oused in and out.

I have posed as a French security consultant eager to do business at the fair, which is off limits to press and public. I have sent two faxes with the letterheading of an imaginary Paris firm. It is enough to get in with a ham French accent and a copy of Le Monde.

"Bomber", head security honcho, drives me and four guards to the site. He is preparing evacuation procedures as if a siege were in progress. Shouting orders into a mobile phone, he deploys darksuited men to different gates. There are security searches that would shame El Al. No recording equipment, bugging devices, cameras or protesters, thank you.

The venue is a 100-metre rigid tent with 100 middle-aged men in black drinking and eating heavily at both ends. I am the only man in shades There are lots of earrings and per-sonal jewellery, bellies, and white shirts on show. In between, 145 exhibitors from around the world are showing their kit to military special forces, border patrols, corporate security men, government agencies, rapid response departments, logis-tic groups, minesweepers, and what are eupliemistically called "internal security" groups. The Copex catalogue boasts exhibits for "penetration/insertion security", "counter narcotics", "armour and ballistics" "pyrotechnics" and "counter insurgency". South Koreans, Chinese, Ugandans, Kuwaitis and Singapore-



Protesters outside the perimeter fence of Farnborough airfield in England, where the Copex arms fair took place PHOTO: GARRY WEASER

voice mandarin-types.

I have a notional £100,000. What can I buy for a bunch of securityobsessed East Europeans? The prices are ballistic. How about a portable sleeping policeman which can be electronically triggered to produce razor-sharp blades? Prices slashed to £13,000. Big in Germany.

"Very good for border guards," says the MD of Catsclaw Ltd. "And corporations?" "Of course."

A man selling revolving target systems for up to £5 million bewails

ans mix with Brummies and clipped | Now he has to deal mainly with big spenders such as the police.

> A man with a knife is dressed up n hood, groin and body armour and s being eyed up by a man with a gun. "Come on!" he shouts. It is, says a salesman, close quarter training for "real-time situation incidents". The two men grapple and four shots ring out. It's only paint.

But where are the bombs and torture equipment? "Off ticket," snys a blunt northerner eyeing up conputer surveillance gear.

Across the aisle, the man from the Ultimate Handcuff Company offers eight brands of cuff. "You have the demise of British gun clubs.

"My clients have a problem tha

the handcuffs they use show bruises. What do you recommend? Easy. Rubber liners at £6 a pair. To another vendor: "Do you have

any CS gas?" "Is that like mustard gas? thought it was illegal here, that's why we didn't bring any." But he

has an export business. "Call me," he says, "We can get most things." No one is impressed by the Princess Diana anti-mine campaign, intergovernmental treaties or Labour's new ethical foreign policy. "It's business as usual. The trade goes on in anything you want," says a man sell-

ing Bosnia-tested minesweepers. Cattle prods, electric shock batons, manacles and other human rights abuse gear is out. Hi-tech is Bugs are taking over as corporations and governments become in creasingly paranoid about outsiders and insiders. There are now antibugs and anti-anti-bugs, bugs for private and public property. Rice grain-sized transmitters can be folowed anywhere in the world, by computer, by satellite, or global information systems.

What about bugging fax machines? "Is the enemy within or without the office, sir?" a man asks. He recommends a £20,000 machine. "It is strictly for the authorities, but you know if you have a lot of money. anything is possible."

Even as Tony Blair is calling on Britain to become a "beacon for the world", quite legal orders are being taken for British-made mortar launchers, voice-print truth phones, grenades, disruptor cannon, carbon dioxide guns, small arms, explosives, blasting machines and civilian surveillance systems,

It is 5.30 and we are all ushered out on to government Tarmac and into buses. Beyond the gates, antiarms trade campaigners prepare for their overnight vigil. Tibetan monks, Kurds and East Timorese tie peace pennants to the fence.

Two Copex delegates listen to the radio news. Tony Blair is heard saying that the Government has new values. "Nice one," says one with a smile.

CAN'T remember having a "square meal". Can someone explain this expression? — J Cold well, Herzebrock-Clarholz, Germany

WHAT'S the difference between a herb and a spice? - Gareth Hyett, Manchester

// the environment — the destruction of the Brazilian rainforest or the American use of

0171/+44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farring-

year. Geneva, of course, is one the world's wealthy cities. The African delegates goggled at the luxurious shops and gasped at the even more stupendous prices. They admired the medieval city and the cathedra hey loved the lake and gant boulevards. Our hosis to us to an auberge for dinner and we had a feast. Near the result

eldest member of the delegate summed up: "We have seen to wealth of your city, the besuith buildings, the lake and the most tains, the luxury hotels and the universal electric lighting, but this is how you treat your elicit

then your are living in a state

spiritual and social poverty, we envy you nothing."

rant was a large, well-lit building.
An African colleague asket will it was. "Oh, that is just an old it provides the colleague asket was." it was. "Oh, that is just an unit people's home," came the replication of the African delegates were such tonished. Questions were such explanations given. Finally the eldest member of the delegate

Paul Brown

IVO-THIRDS of the world's

lown and burned at an ever increas-

ing rate with an area the size of Eng-

and and Wales disappearing each

year, the World Wide Fund for Na-

The new figures are far worse

han previously thought. The Asia

Pacific region, where fires are raging in Indonesia, had lost 88 per

cent of its forest cover even before

Francis Sullivan, who launched

the report, says only 2 per cent of

the world's forests are protected.

Yet at least 10 per cent of each forest

type needs to be saved to have any

hope of preventing mass destruc-tion of species that live there.

With the support of the World Bank, the WWF is urging all govern-

ments to pledge to protect 10 per

cent of their forests by the end of the

entury. For some countries such as

the current disaster.

ture (WWF) revealed last week.

forests have been lost for

ever, and they are being cut

killing the fish and causing flooding." Garo Batmanian, a conservationlst from Brazil, says: "We are not trying to put a fence round the Amazon or any other forest OK, they are good for blodiversity, but they are good for people too, they make a good living out of them. All sorts of

World's forests vanishing

Forest facts

97% of Ult's native

62% of world's total forest

Europe has lost 82% of original forest cover

Only 2 per cent of Europe's remaining forest a protected

without destroying the forest. "In Brazil, we regularly suffer flooding now because there are no trees to soak up the water. Five years after the forest is cut down the land is useless and the ranchers move on to new forest areas. We are proud of ing all the agreements but we did not keep our promises. The rate of forest destruction and the loss of species continues to accelerate," he says.

WWF is keen to emphasise that the destruction of forests is a worldworst offenders is Europe.

The report highlights the prob-

forest products can be harvested I lem of the Glen Feshle estate in Scotland, one of the few remnants of ancient Caledonian pine forest. Even though it has legal protection as a national nature reserve and is proposed as a special area for conservation by the European Union, it is being destroyed as a result of nosting the Earth Summit and sign- overgrazing by deer. Martin Mathers, policy officer from WWF Scotland, says: "Because Man regards stalking deer as sport the area has been packed with red deer, which eat every young tree. A survey shows that there is not one tree in the forest under 130 years old. As a result the forest is dying, yet it is

supposed to be protected."

Evan before the Indonesia fires 88% of Asia-Pacific region forest's had been lost

WWF and World Bank are call no

minimum of 10% of all torest types in their borders by 2000

A giant beep for mankind

Martin Walker cracks the pager codes used by teenagers in the US

THE beeper hooked on to your belt sounds. Check the little digital display and it reads 121. One to one. It means I want to talk to you alone. Then comes the next digital burst: 007. James Bond's number. That means I've got a secret. It is followed by 21. In homage to the legendary New York bar, that means let's go for a drink. Then comes 8.30, to fix the time.

End of message. And dawn of a revolution in communications, the new Morse code for the digital age. Naturally, it is American, Equally naturally, it began as a teenage thing, and the teens are starting to complicate the codes further now that parents and adults are learning and using the new language.

Beepers began with doctors. Then came the drug dealers. But just as the cops started to assume that the little beepers on the belt meant a possible pareotics arrest. they became teenage fashion statements. Beepers are also a lot cheaper than cell phones. They now come in all colours. Day-Glo pink and keopardskin are popular

There are now 50 million beepers in use in the United States. After a customer survey by the biggest manufacturer, Motorola, it is now reckoned that more than 8 million are owned by teenagers. Motorola now sends out notes on beener eti-

"Don't pull your pager out and check it in class, during religious services, or other inappropriate times," it counsels.

The New York education department bans them in class, and confiscated 3,103 in the last six months of 1996. Since you can get beepers almost free if you sign up for a year's service at \$6.95 a month, few students bother to reclaim them.

"We see this being 60 million or more over the next couple of years. The majority of that will be driven by teens and familles, not business users," says Doug Kemp, of Dallas-

based Page-mart, one of the biggest "We love it," grins Todd Felker of

telecommunications giant AT&T, which has gleefully seen the coming of beeper boutiques and the increasingly popular guide books to the

FEATURES 25

Inevitably, the phenomenon is starting to attract academic attention, not just for the innovative linguistics, but for the way it modernises a traditional form of adolescent behaviour.

"When kids page each other, they thumb their nose at authority by using the latest technology," says Daniel Gensler, director of child, adolescent and family services at Manhattan's postgraduate centre for mental health. He sees it as healthy, even empowering for young people, and he sees the swift transmission of the codes throughout a far-flung age group as a natural development of teenage slang. What is new, however, is the technology-driven transition for alphabetic o numeric communication.

Beeper codes started with a logical development of school games with digital numbers on electronic calculators. Turn the screen muside down, and 07734 reads "Hello": 1133 2 09 reads "Go to Hell"

Swiftly translated on to beeper screens, the digital messages have now spawned a language Tele parents who bought the becores for the kids as form of electronic leash found it useful to learn enough of the lingo to send messages.

Stuck in traffic on the way to pick up a child, parents can use the beeper to send 87.1 — "I late."

Many of the messages are specific to US culture. The year of the American revolution, 1776, means you are really revolting; 66 means let's hit the road, from Route 66. From the old TV show about Beverly Hills high school, 90210 means you are a snob. Thanks to Christopher Columbus, 1492 means let's go sailing. From the name of the infamous income tax form, 1040 means You owe me big time". The cruellest code of all is 30. In teenspeak, it means "That's so old, it's history".

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

OW does a spider get its first bridge has been formed. — Gus hread across wide spaces McNaughton, Otley, West Yorkshire without intervening support?

THERE are at least three methods used by spiders to span such gaps, but they all depend on a or my seven-year-old cat? fine gossamer thread being wafted by air currents until it becomes

In the first case the spider simply points its spinnerets to the wind, emitting a fine gossamer silk which is carried away. The spider tests this every so often and if it appears to be anchored uses it as the bridge thread for a new web.

Alternatively, while issuing the gossamer, the spider also lowers itself to the ground on a somewhat thicker support line and once there tests the gossamer to see if it has achieved a connection. Or, the spider attaches both the gossamer and the support line to the original site and lowers itself to the ground, where it releases that end of the gossamer and climbs back up the support line to retrieve the fixed end of the gossamer and test it to see if a | WHEN the supply of a worthless who earns how much. The articles will invariably begin something like:

WHICH is more intelligent, my seven-month-old baby

IT DEPENDS on your understanding of intelligence. Your cat will outdo your baby on "what a cat needs to know" specialities, whereas your baby will excel in "appropriate responses to silly human faces and sounds" subjects. Your cat probably thinks it is more intelligent than you! - Megan Cupid, Birmingham

JOUR CAT: If you abandoned I both right now, only the cat could survive without your help. -Christine Brandon-Jones, London

WHEN does a gem cross the line between semi-precious

is artificially restricted by De Beers. - Art Hilgart, Kalamazoo, Michi-

> stopped using these terms. Pre-viously, "precious" stones were understood to be diamond, ruby, emerald, sapphire and pearl, with perhaps black opal and alexandrite. 'Semi-precious' stones were peridot, aquamarine, topaz, tournaline, zircon and amethyst. Now the term "gemstones" is used to describe both categories. A fine topaz worth thousands of dollars could hardly be described as half-precious. - Anthony

ROFESSIONAL jewellers have

WHY are Anglo-Saxons exceedingly tight-lipped about the size of their earnings?

de Goutière, Victoria, BC, Canada

THIS stems from the belief that the walls have ears - and work for the Inland Revenue. - K A Datta, Calcutta, India

DERIODICALLY, French magazines publish revelations about

"Mentioning how much you earn is a big taboo in France. Unlike the Anglo-Saxons, who are much more open about it . . ." — Maryse Petros, Toulouse, France

Any answers's

/ / HICH is the the worse for resources? — Bryn Jones, Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire

Answers should be e-mailed to weekiy@guardian.co.uk, faxed to don Road, London EC1M 3HQ. The Notes & Queries website is at http://na.guardian.co.uk/

Britain it is too late, with 97 per cent already destroyed. British woodland continues to be lost. The disturbing figures are com-piled by the World Conservation Monitoring Centre at Cambridge and are based on what scientists believe would have been world forest cover 8,000 years ago, before humans started to clear them for agriculture. It is the first time a comprehensive assessment has been carried out.

Apart from the extinction of species caused by the loss of foresis, he local climate is being altered. Mr Sullivan says: "In the case of the Indonesian fires the amog problem will be eplaced by others when the rains inally come. Soil and ash will be washed into rivers clogging them,

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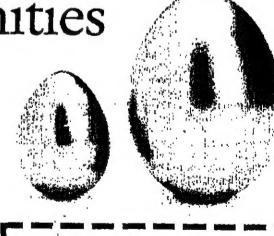
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GUARDIAN WEEKLY October 19 1997

Richard Williams

HE FIRST half-hour of Nil by Mouth is like staring at a pile of unexploded bombs. wondering which of them is going to go off first. Actually, there's not much doubt. Raymond (Ray Winstone) is the biggest and craziest of this group of minor villains from a south London estate, with the shortest fuse. And when he blows his top, he detonates a series of explosions that will echo in the heads of all who see this exhausting, disturbing and, I think, very important film.

Raymond frightens us just by the way he orders a round of drinks. When he tells his wife that he's going out for "a bit of mooching about", he and his mates get wired and head up west for the night. Skittering from amusement arcade to strip club, they turn Soho into a giant pinball machine. And with the booze and the drugs inside him, Raymond's mechanisms of social control are disabled. He's ready to let fly with a murderous rage.

The most terrifying moment, the sequence that will define anyone's overall reaction to the film, comes halfway through, when Raymond really loses it. On the sort of ridiculous pretext that may occur all too readily to a drunk man, he beats his pregnant wife, Val (Kathy Burke). into a miscarriage. We don't see the blows. But at the preview I went to, there were gasps and sobs as his boot went in. Afterwards Raymond stands over her, shifting his weight from foot to foot, fiddling with the waistband of his boxer shorts in a kind of defiant uncertainty. Part of him thinks that what he's just done was all right. The other part of him knows the truth, however dimly.

This is not a reflection of the home life of the average British citizen. Its authenticity, however, is be- same fate. yond question. Gary Oldman wrote Nil By Mouth. He also produced and directed it. Half of the \$4 million budget came out of his own pocket, end of the film, he tells his friend from the proceeds of his roles in the | Mark (Jamie Foreman) about how likes of JFK, True Romance, The his mother once carried his father's Fifth Element and Air Force One. He's a recovered alcoholic, and the son of an alcoholic. It's personal, in other words. And Ray Winstone's Raymond is the prism through which Oldman chooses to show us the life he observed as a child, growing up on an estate like the one | their various cracked and battered that imprisons this family.

No one, then, can legitimately deny the truth of what we are seeing. But without art, authenticity doesn't mean much. And in his first directorial effort, one in which he | in her arms for a dance around the depends very largely on his own re-sources, Oldman brings visual flair has given Billy (Charlie Creedand dramatic judgment to bear on a | Miles) a lift to his dealer, she makes

The look of the film is based, according to its designer, Hugo Luczyc-Wyhowski, on the work of the photographers Paul Graham and Nick Waplington; to which I would add the unvarnished domestic photography of Richard Billingham, one of the most widely noticed elements of the Sensation show at the Royal Academy in London.

The pre-dawn blue, the pondslime green and the sodium vellow form a perfect palette — but the director of photography, Ron Fortunato, manages to resist the temptation to cosmeticise the action, except when there is a purpose Junk culture: Charlie Creedin mind. One unforgettable shot of Miles in Nil By Mouth



Poetic vision . . . Gong Li in the spectacular Temptress Moon

bland modernist geometry, mocking the clean beauty which the original architect must have envisaged 40 years ago when he closed his eyes and dreamed of Mies Van Der Rohe and an urban utopia. And when Billy, Val's junkie brother, stalks through the buildings, the camera follows him in a lovely long,

Winstone is the dark heart of the film, along with Burke. Their combustible relationship is the current episode of a serial dysfunction: we can see how her grandmother, Kath (Edna Dore), and her mother, Janet (Laila Morse), went through variations of the same thing, and it is with a sense of dread that we watch their small daughter Michelle (Leah Fitzgerald) being prepared for the

By contrast, Raymond has no such example of survival to follow. In a maudlin soliloguy towards the dinner over to the pub on a tray, saying that since that was where he lived, he might as well eat there. This is a true story: the mother and father were Oldman's.

It is the film's only real weakness that all the women are portrayed, in ways, as angels. But that, too, is probably how Oldman saw it. Burke is, as usual, extraordinary, wiping away her troubles with that lovely woozy smile and taking her old gran



the estate fills the screen with its | him get out of the front seat and | climb into the back of the old van to shoot up the smack for which her "loan" has paid. The neighbours might see.

> What's the point of a film like this? What's the social value? Léos Carax's Les Amants du Pont Neuf showed us that those who lie in the gutter can still look at the stars in each other's eyes. John Singleton's Boyz N The Hood and Matthieu Kassavitz's La Haine reminded us that gang members are as human and various as, say, our elected representatives. By saying that there are people surviving even this level of degradation, by offering not nihilism but the nearest thing to realism that cinema can achieve, Nil By Mouth identifies itself as an honourable film, as well as a sensational one.

F YOU want to leave a cinema feeling half-drowned in beauty. go and see Chen Kaige's Temptress Moon. See it twice, in fact: once for the ravishing visuals and another time to try to work out what the director is trying to tell us. On neither count will you be wasting your time.

Although the film is set in a pivotal era of Chinese history, the 10 years following the abdication of the Emperor and the establishment of the republic in 1911, it doesn't aim for the grand sweep of Chen's last work, Farewell My Concubine. In that majestic piece, the three principal characters were used to Illustrate the wider drama of their time. Here, the telescope is reversed: once again there is a trio of leads, but now Chen and his fellow scenarists are interested in the effect of ustory on individual destinies.

First we see them as children. Zhongliang is a poor relation who comes to live at the country estate of his brother-in-law, Zhengda. There he is seduced by his sister, Xiuyi, who persuades him to forget his studies and use his time in preparing her husband's opium pipe. Ruyi is Zhengda's wliful little sister; the diffident Duanwu is their

Ten years later, we discover that Zhengda has lost his mind and the elders of the estate are calling upon the grown-up Ruyl (Gong Li) to take over — a sign of social change. Zhongliang (Leslie Cheung), his ability to love apparently destroyed by his first sexual experience, is

now to be found among the bars and dance-halls of Shanghai, an exquisite gigolo seducing rich married women who are then blackmailed by fellow members of his gang.

Sent back by the gang boss to try the same trick on Ruyi, Zhongliang finds himself falling for her — only to be astonished by the discovery that she has prepared herself for him by practising sex with the equally discombobulated Duanwu. Once again he disappears. The complexities of the slow-burning progress towards a comfortless denouement, and the elucidation of clues carefully planted along the way, sometimes make the intricate plot difficult to follow. But in the end Temptress Moon resolves itself with a satisfying logic, while also presenting its audience with a more rofound meditation on love and

duty in a time of change. The chronology allows Chen to make a dramatic virtue of the moods and images of China in the early part of the century. His art director, Huang Qiagui, exploits the contrast between the traditional costumes and environments of the family estate and the European clothes and neon lighting of downtown Shanghal as the characters move back and forth on the cusp of a new world.

But for all the anguished ele gance of Cheung and the compelling spectacle of Gong Li's unique half-moon lips, the real star of the film is the cinematographer, Christopher Doyle, whose work with the Hong Kong director Wong Kar-Wei (Days Of Being Wild Chungking Express, Fallen Angels) attracted great admiration and who seizes the chance here to create an unashamedly poetic vision.

Doyle shoots his close-ups in the style of recent magazine portraiture: he centre of the subject's face in sharp focus, blurring away to the

sharp focus, blurring away to the edges. He uses the Steadicam to follow the action with balletic grace and swiftness.

He makes objects — leather slippers, an ivory and silver opium pipe, a safety razor — into things you could worship. He uses colour — the indigo of the estate elders robes, the neutrals of Zhongliang's Western lines suits — with a painter's even integrated with great skill. Vinaver's play that unmasks the capitals process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre. Sam Walters's process and has people angular on the streets outside the theatre.

linen suits --- with a painter's eye. Temptress Moon may not be a masterplece. But cinema was invented so that people like Chen and Doyle could play together the way bey do here. they do here.

Loo's change of capitalism

THEATRE

Michael Billington

ORK. It used to be British theatre's dirtiest four-keier word. But a whole succession of plays have finally put it on size. from Arnold Wesker's The Kitchen and David Storey's The Contractor to comedies such a Michael Frayn's Make And Break So Michel Vinaver's Over-

board, a vast three-and-a-halfhour play with a cast of 20 staged by Sam Walters at the Orange Tree in Richmond, Surrey, is less of a shock thank might once have been. This Aristophanic comedy, about an American conglomerate's takeover of a French family-run toilet-paper manufacturer, wa written in the late sixtles. Much of the play is still grimly funny, not least when it touches on th myth-making power of marketing. But in a sense it has been overtaken by events. Not only are we used to work plays, but we live in a cut-throat economy where medium-sized firms are daily devoured by monopolistic corporations.

Vinaver's play is long (seven hours in its original form), capticious and self-indulgent. Even so, I welcome its revival as part of a season of French theatre, if only because it puts a process or stage: it shows how capitalism works. We see the ailing bog rol firm dressing up the same old product with a new name, surviving a boardroom putsch and re-launching itself with the aid of American marketing consultant

Much the sharpest and fundest scenes are those showing the American whizz-kids at work They force the polite French to confront the fundamental nature of their product. They engage in dollar-book Freud ("shitting is forbidden pleasure") and pass on textbook law ("marketing h the male; the consumer is the female"). "Religion, art and literature," they triumphantly proclaim, "will pass into the background. Man's creativity will find rofuge in marketing

Although written in the late sixtles, this is terrifyingly apposite for the late nineties, when even political parties are sold like soap-powders. But Vinaver is not content simply to write a satire on capitalism. He draws parallels between the internecine rivalries of Norse myth and the modern business community and contrasts the controlled experiments of the Nazi death camps with the artistic Happenings of the side

ig beautiful visions. But what is really beautiful is the erformance, created by writer avant-garde. Arne Sierens and the choreogra-Yet I cannot help warming in pher Alain Platel. Sierens and Platel play that unmasks the capitals oth grew up near the Ghent village of Oostaker, probably the only place in the world which boasts a fairground slap bang next to a copy of ae grotto at Lourdes, where the 4 year-old Bernadette, a girl on the kink of womanhood, saw her lons of the Virgin Mary. Clearly the Ghent town planners knew a thing or two about the Intimate relagreat, baggy monster; but, st lonship between sex and God.
Sierens likes to describe Berna detje as "surfing on chaos" and bresses that "there is no story, just

belies the disciplined, tightly choreographed nature of the performance and its rippling undercurrents, from which you can take many interlocking narratives and meanings.

Bareback riders . . . the dizzying Bernadetje PHOTO: KURT VAN DER ERST

Fairground attraction

Lyn Gardner marvels at

divinity and dodgem cars

HERE was a time when I was

puted favourite day out was a trip to

Dreamland in Margate followed by

evensong at Canterbury Cathedral.

sweaty, dangerous, posturing glain-our of the fairground to the cool,

shadowy cathedral where moon-faced choirboys looked slyly from

under their long lashes as they sang

ing Bernadetje, which is currently

louring Britain. Bernadetje is a

miraculous rites-of-passage tale set on a fairground dodgem track, in

which sexual awakening is suffused

with religious fervour. It makes St

Theresa's secret rapture seem

To a score which intercuts a Bach

mass with Prince and Elizabeth

Schwarzkopf and Kathleen Ferrier

with Pla Zadora and Germaine Jack-

son, the young cast, most of them still

at school, recreate the aimless, rest-

ess, aggressive energy of a day spent

old before her years, who is wearing

white communion dress and has a

garland of flowers in her hair — a

child surveying the adult world who

periodically raises her eyes heaven-

sgainst flesh and bone.

pretty ordinary.

It was not so very far from the

no longer a child, but not yet

a grown-up, when my undis-

the cult performance

Bernadetje, a mix of

What is evident is that the piece really does have what Platel calls "a golden layer", a mixture of lights, music and sheer physical sweat which is as entrancing for the viewer as it is for the performers.

The lights above the scooter track flash neon blue and pink, the beat of the music takes over like a hypnotic trance, the dodgern cars begin to spin and suddenly you are 15 again: self-absorbed, strutting your stuff in front of the mirror, utterly invincible and totally vulnerable at the same time.

like angels.
I suddenly thought of this watch-"It is difficult to resist what going on on the stage because the actors are just being themselves. I is raw, not just a copy of daily life," says Platel, who, together with Sier ens, developed the piece with the performers, only a few of them professionals, over an intensive threemonth period of improvisation.

Platel is right. The beauty of the piece is that for an audience the experience is utterly real, like watching real life in real time. But theatrically it operates on the level of hyper-realism. It is always much more than it ever appears to be.

hanging around the fairground.

They squabble and swagger,
pose and ride the dodgerns with a "We couldn't recreate this piece with another group," says Sierens.
"We don't work with individuals, we desperate disregard for danger, sweeping the floor with their bodies work with the company and the chemistry of that company. For me, and nimbly avoiding what seems like the inevitable crunch of metal as a theatre-maker, it is the first time I have seen on stage the dramaturgy of a group. For us it is a manifesto about how theatre must Among them wanders a small fig-ure, neglected by her mother and

work its creators." Yet judging by the response across Europe, it works for audiences too. The show has achieved a cult status with groups of young people following it over international boundaries. But what is it that attracts them? The high energy and pure emotion of the piece?

"I think it is more. It is like a ritual feast or a pilgrimage," says Platel.
"It's easy and funny to watch, but it
is also the blackest, most tragic theatre that I have ever made."

Tragic, but never downbeat. The characters may be losers in life but. they are the rulers of the dodgem. race, that they come truly alive. They arch their bodies and appear to swing through space, like glamorous bareback riders, passing from car to car. They step out into the thin air and they dare to fall. It is the grand in extreme of emotions. Attractive gesture from the small people: beauakhough this may make it sound, it it itial, futile, utterly desperate.

You have come to the right party

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

HAVE educated myself in the intervals between TV programmes, as Osbert Sitwell did in the holidays from Eton. With practice, quite large novels can be ingested at a gulp. Even so, the 12 books of A Dance to the Music of Time were a bit of a facer. It does not occur to Anthony Powell that you might have an urgent prior appointment. .
Once in, it is simply absorbing.

Literally so, like some huge though not particularly hungry anaconda, which swallows you in leisurely, irresistible, muscular ripples. Just imagine how it feels when first your toes, then your heels, then by gradual degrees your shins and ankles, calves and heels are slowly enten bit by bit. The sensation is engrossing.

Hugh Whitemore's version for Channel 4 is essentially perfectly faithful, which is more than you can say for most of the characters. If this is a snake, it's a pedigree racing

snake. You can put your shirt on it. The sheer size and subtlety of Dance has seen off several screenwriters. Whitemore has arranged 12 novels into four two-hour films. reducing the sauce. It concentrates | in reality Simon Russell Beale's the essence and a little goes a long

The first film started - and you an't fault his instinct - with Jean (Claire Skinner) opening the door naked to her lover, Nicholas Jenk-ins (James Purefoy). She looks like a pink nymph. Probably a Mayfair nymph, as she still wears a pair of pearl earrings. Nicholas, who is forever re-tying his shoelaces, is clearly more buttoned-up. As the film and their love affair and their youth end, she dances, still naked, sadly and slowly in his arms. She

has a beautiful, paintable back.

The plum in Powell's pudding is idmerpool (Simon Russell Beale) who clearly began life as the fat owl of the Remove then started disconcertingly to grow. He is a cuckeo who pushes more elegant birds out of the nest. While we are on the subject of birds, it was Widmerpool who was first described as "so wet you could shoot snipe off him".

Endless indignities and ill-fitting hats are heaped on Widmerpool's head, but he rises from the ashes of his humiliation fitter, fatter and better-informed than ever. The large and starry east are democratically listed in alphabetical order (John Whitemore describes his method as | Gielgud following Edward Fox) but name, like Abou Ben Adhem's, will

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The sight of John Gielgud in a small smoking cap, melodiously fluting about the iniquities of critics, is always a comfort. It reassures you that you've come to the right party. Gielgud's here, everybody. It's the right address. Come in . . . Make yourself at home . . . Meet Alan Bennett and Edward Fox. Sarah Badel. Zoë Wanamaker, Eileen Atkins, Miranda Richardson and, oh, simply everybody will be along shortly.

There is the oddest, dreamlike quality about the book and, to some extent, the film. Characters like Uncle Giles (Edward Fox), a black sheep in a brown bowler, appear in unlikely places, mention they are having trouble with their teeth, and vanish, leaving a disconcertingly strong impression on the air, like the Cheshire Cat's grin or the smell of Turkish tobacco.

A Dance To The Music Of Time also the title of a painting by Poussin showing poverty, labour riches and profligacy dancing back to back but hand in hand. One condition leading to another. Or, as my grannie used to say, "Clogs to clogs - three generations." Though that is, perhaps, more a Lowry.

Life in the slow lane

Robert Wyatt's languorous approach to making music belies its intensity. He talks to Jonathan Romney

Wyatt became a grandfather at the age of 52, and it's fair to say that the role suits him down to the ground. It's not just that he has the right beard for the part, a long shaggy mop that he sometimes tweaks into two forks, ideal for small children to tug. It's also that he makes the kind of music you'd rather hope a grandfather would make - melancholic, quizzical and fired by a mischief that those greybeards in-denial the Rolling Stones could only dream of.

Wyatt started out in the 1960s. drumming and singing with English psychedelia's radical highbrows, the Soft Machine, followed by his own group Matching Mole. Then, in 1973, he fell from a fourth-floor window, beechier, his back her window, beechier, his back in the second of the second dow, breaking his back, and has been paraplegic ever since. He claims that was the making of him. "As a drummer, I was dysfunctional I couldn't be told what to do . . . ! didn't know how to function until I couldn't play drums any more, and

that provided the answer Since then, Wyatt has forged a ınique, diverse solo career. It began with a bizarre moment as a chart artist, reworking the Monkees' I'm A Bellever, and took in a spell in the 1980s as purveyor of radical cover versions - from Cuban revolution ary anthems to Elvis Costello's Falklands memorial Shipbuilding, via Chic and Thelonious Monk. Then track. It is only when the music there were extraordinary LPs such swells, the lights dim and the cars as 1974's dense, harrowing Rock Bottom, setting Wyatt's racked lamentations amid a soundscape

that sounded positively subaquatic. It's been seven years since Don-destan, his last full-length record. But his new CD, Shleep, is rich, affecting and well worth the walt. Operating, geographically and

Robert Wyatt: Shleeping it off

temperamentally, far off the musicbusiness superhighway, Wyatt works at his own pace, at least when circumstances allow. "When there's fuss and bother, I stop functioning."

The last few years have brought more than a usual amount of fues. He recently fell out of his wheel-chair, breaking both legs and losing a year's working time. "They put me in one of those wheelchairs where your legs stick straight out - and I can't play the piano sideways like Liberace."

A further prol too finely tuned to the state of the nation. In the 1980s, Wyatt established himself as one of the more po-litically vociferous figures in British music. He was a member of the Communist party, until he lost faith with its attempts to repackage itself.

Political and mental burn-out eventually came in the form of a nervous collapse. "The rightwing tri-umphalism of the eighties got to me, The propaganda war is designed to demoralise rather than kill, and it works," It was the political animal in him that pulled him through, "I thought, look at all the good things — Mandela, all the corrupt governments, like Zaire falling, and millions of yegetarians. It's very rude to all these people to be depressed."

Throughout his career, Wyatt has been an adventurous collaborator. but his most consistent collaborator has been his wife Alfreda Benga, aka Alfie, who is also his manager, sleeve artist, beard-trimmer and occasional lyric writer. "She's at least the other half of the story. It's like Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo - she turned out to be the major figure of the two and I'm sure that's how it'll be with us." Shleep features

several of her poems. Although he's not one for the work ethic, Wyatt says that living with Alfie does stir him to a "husband ethic": "I occasionally have to go out and crack a bison on the head and drag it home for dinner. If it weren't for that discipline, I'd probably concentrate on getting pissed and dissolute. My heroes are people like Artaud, who absolutely refuse to participate in any way in

anything they're meant to do." If one thread of continuity runs through Wyatt's career, it's the voice, a sort of distracted conversational whine, the plaintive sound of a street seller lost in the woods. And he has gradually developed a distinctive musical language — a style of keyboard playing, drumming and, most recently, trumpet, that es across as a direct notation of his psyche. "If I see the tape as a canvas on which I'm mapping out shapes and textures, I feel totally comfortable."

Maybe it's this painterly approach that makes Wyatt's detractors see him as a figure of whimsy, a hippie dabbler. But in an industry where rhetoric rules, there's something remarkable about an artist who can produce work so traumatically raw and yet maintain a stance of amused distraction. "I don't have a particular thing about self-expression," Wyatt says, "It's just that I sometimes hear things in my head that nobody else is going to play if I don't. If it weren't for that, I'd be quite happy listening to everyone else."

I Shleep is on Hannibal/Rykodisc

F C

Julie Burchill

Paul McCartney:

by Barry Miles

Many Years From Now

Secker & Warburg 704pp £17,99

O KNOW-NOTHING rock-

ists, there can only ever be

two interesting things about

Paul McCartney — and they answer to the names "John" and "Linda". In

the days when everyone had a

favourite Beatle instead of a

favourite Spice Girl, the thinking

fan's Beatle was invariably John.

And although John Beatle was long

ago proved to be a morally inconti-

nent sexist and racist headcase who

when not beating up his wife was

purchasing whole apartments in the

Dakota building just to keep said wife's fur coat collection at the cor-

rect temperature ("Imaginel No pos-

sessions!"), the myth of his surly

intliness persists even unto his

But to girls - who understand

pop at a gut level, as opposed to

boys, who understand it with their

groins and brains in equal parts.

both equally unreliable - Paul was

always Best Beatle. He was hand-

some, winsome and ruthless; he

was more girlish than the others,

which made him the most sexy and

abversive. You could just tell that

ennon was an unreconstructed

sexist, racist slob by the ugly way

ic yowled and succeed - but when

Paul and George put their silky

brunette bands together over one

microphone and went "noouoou!", it

The Beatles broke up when I was

0. I remember my parents' grim

faces as we listened to the radio; the

Abdication must have been a lot like

drugs." But most of all "It was that

Linda. Why didn't he marry that

lovely Jane Asher?" Linda, along

with Yoko Ono and Wallis Simpson,

is one of the great sexual sphinxes

of the 20th century, baffling Britain

and beyond with her prairie-plain

lace and penny loafers. She was not

bird or a babe; she was a buddy,

which — looking back — spoke of

McCartney's integrity, the same in-

local comp and pay all his taxes.

egrity which would see him settle

Sussex, send his kiddies to the

Sadly, his singularly unembar-

that, "It was that Yoko," "It was the

as every girl for herself.

lumbed-down disciples Oasis.

A slow death in a short life

John Mullan

by Andrew Motion Faber 636pp £25

Coleridge recalled how a DECADE after Keats's death, young man had approached him, seized his hand, declared himself honoured to encounter the famous Mr Coleridge, and abruptly walked away. "That is Keats, the poet", a companion told him. "Heavens!" Coleridge suppos-edly said, "when I shook him by the hand there was death!"

Whether Coleridge's perceptiveness was real or only retrospective, this sense of youth shadowed by death has always shaped our images of Keats. This is not solely because he was only 25 when he died of consumption in Rome in 1821, his poetry still largely ignored outside a small circle of friends. It is also because intimations of mortality are so much the stuff of a poetry which is "half in love with easeful death" yet, for a suspended moment, staves off the extinction of the transient pleasures that it evokes.

The sense of impending death gives the story of Keats's life its undeniable urgency in Andrew Motion's new biography (as in previous accounts). When the poet catches a cold on the island of Mull during his 1818 walking tour of Scotland, Motion writes that "his short life started to end, and his slow death began". We are halfway through a long book, and have 300 pages left for the last three, ebbing years. Thanks largely to the journal-like letters in which, as Motion puts it, Keats "bio-graphises himself", it is a story full of month-by-month detail. We can read Keats's own quick-witted, passionate account of his poetic ambi-

tions, as the weeks and days narrow. The intensity of little time is there n the poems. The best-loved of them — the great Odes, "The Eve of St Agnes", "La Belle Dame Sans Merci", "To Autumn" - were all written within six months of each other in 1819. The very manuscripts display an extraordinary repidity of invention and alteration. Thus, as well as death, there is immortality, unlikely as this would seem until long after his death. In the first half the 19th century, his poetry

most always) certain. But that is

precisely the problem. Knowing

that he caunot do without her, he re-

sents the obligation to love her in

return. He feels trammelled by her

constant concern for him. He is irri-

tated by the stupid and inconsistent

things she says. He hates having to

share her with his younger brother

How can anyone make sense of

such feelings? How can be reconcile

them with what he is "supposed" to

feel? Must be keep himself in hiding

for ever? Well, he hasn't done so. The

confessions he makes here are ren-

dered all the more intense by the

and his father.

seemed to be fading into obscurity Yet the poems, which often them selves ponder the mysteriousness o art's survival through time, do live on. The poet who instructed that his gravestone declare "Here lies one whose name was writ in water" (it does not actually give his name) has come to embody the lasting truth of

The poet "has no self", Keats wrote, for he should be losing himself in his invention, "filling some other Body". Yet his life seems inextricable from his writing and its contours will be familiar to many. The orphan son of an innkeeper, he suffered at the hands of the critics, who mocked "cockney" Keats for having to get his classical learning from dictionaries (several, including Shelley, said that the attacks hastened his death). He nursed his younger brother Tom as he died from consumption, intensifying his own sense of shortening time. Finally, there was his love for Fanny Brawne, the presiding spirit of his last poems and letters, and his bitter separation from her when his doc-

Motion's version of this story does not claim to be full of new discoveries. Indeed, the three influential biographies from the 1960s that authoritatively charted Keata's life, by Walter Bate, Aileen Ward and Robert Gittings, remain the bedrock of this account. Where Motion is different it is by introducing the emphases of recent scholarship. Some of this is genuinely enlightening: there is an intriguing chapter, for instance, on contemporary beliefs about consumption and its treat ment. Some is more doubtful: Motion tries to adapt himself to the recent academic fashion for finding political implications in Keats's

He should have left these "new historicists" to their ingenuities. One of the lessons of this book seems to be that, while academic writing about poetry has long since retreated from the common reader. literary biography has become the only popular way of writing about

Andrew Motion's Keats is a homage to a writer; what is most personal about it is Motion's extensive commentary on the writing. It seems that narrating once again the writer's life is nowadays the only tors told him he must travel to Italy | accessible way of talking about what

(Abrams, £14.95)

takers heat schlepping all the saround the world to see them they's large reproductions, too the page are almost A3 size). Unfortunated Arthur K Wher-lock Jr. a curator the Washington National Galler, would seem to have been instructed to write an accompanying text of & most laughable bandity. "In this rad and painting a young wontan gaze happily into the eyes of a red-closted can see that, get on with it.

The Missionary and the Libertine: Love and War in Ess and West, by Ian Buruma (Faber, £8.99)

about the East, and its trouble and contrary relationship with th West, that you will ever read (it's instructive to learn that the Japan ese think as disgracefully of use we do of them.) Buruma know stuff and writes superbly.

That Yellow Basterd, by Frank Miller (Titan, £10.99)

the son of a powerful polit wretched after reading it.

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GUARDIAN WEBS According to Paul **Paperbacks**

Nicholas Lezard

He Died With a Felafel in He Hand, by John Birmingham Flamingo, £5.99)

ONE OF the depressing things some publishers do, and it never works, is try to translate the idioms of one Anglophone country to those of another, not here, This an Australian book, and all the finnier for it. I don't know why with ing the teev" is funnier than watching TV, but there you go Any way, the slang lifts it up from the amusing toilet-book category. It's all about the horrors of house

sharing, and the suffering cases by all the zipper-heads, dickheels and no-hopers who seem to be the only kind of flatmates you can get in Australian cities, (I am not quite sure what a zipper-head is, but it is probably not nice.) Rats are found dead beneath six inches of compacted rubbish in the living room, the mould grows mould and, as the title says, one junky is found dead in his room with a felafel in his hand ! s an epic of squalor and degrada tion. Deserves to be a hit.

Vermeer: The Complete Works

PPARENTEY no other volume collects all of Vermeer's known works. I'm prepared to believe it as! soldier sitting across from her. Yes?

THIS is one of the best book

CAN still hardly bring mysel use the term "graphic novel lat "comic book" is quite the work. way to describe this incredibly on story about a cop who rescues 11-year-old girl from the chirles maniac, who also happens to be one draws evil as well and as past fully as Miller, but you really to ke

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making a church with his hands, for all the world like a Labour elder and will now proceed to tell us over the space of half a million words exnow actually a Sir, because this almost expect to see a little gold coat of arms and the words "By ap-

recorded and set down in stone though it claims modestly only to have come to fruition after "hours of exclusive interviews undertaken

The project does indeed tairly cream Quality, so it is quite a delicious shock to see on the press handout a quote which could have come straight out of one of Craig Brown's brilliant Private Eye diaries: "Along the way I'd like to register the fact that John was great, he was absolutely wonderful and I did love him, lest it be seen that I'm trying now to do my own kind of revisionism. He was fabulous, really. and all I'm saying is that I have my side of the affair as well, which sometimes gets ignored, hence my agreeing to be part of this book."

Well, it's not a disappointme Had A Little Lamb (about a lamb) | if she could be less intrusive ... but | track machine. The engineer Ken

to the tragic climax of Silly Love Songa (self-explanatory); though, interestingly, nothing as bad as Imagine. Nevertheless, McCart ney's has always given the impression of being a talent hell-bent on cuddling itself to death. This book seeks to redress the balance and inject some gravitas into the old giggler's image. It's immediately evident on the jacket, where a moody black and white shot shows him looking solemn and

ind Martha My Dear (about a dog)

statesman who never quite made it actly where we went wrong.

It's appropriate that McCariney is book hends the knee in no uncertain terms: think of Albert Goldman's biography of John Lennon and then think of the opposite. You

pointment to his royal highness Lord McCartney of Penny Lane at the top of the elegant black from Barry Miles has known McCartney well for more than 30 years, and adging by the size of this book every single one of their conversalions during that time has been

over a period of five years".

Boys, boys! The bitching just gets better and better, and Paul and Barry make a right pair. Barry: "With John inter-ested only in Yoko and his own rassing personal conduct has been | music . . . Paul had inevitably taken somewhat cancelled out by his long- | charge of the album." "It was virtusanding habit of writing some of ally impossible for the cameras to the most excruciating songs known get a shot of the four of them with- and his team had to synchronise i o man — from Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da out Yoko. It was hardly an unreasonabout a marriage) through Mary | able request when they asked John |

John was so besorted that he didn't Townshend lashed up a method of see it that way, he couldn't see that starting all the tage machines simultancously using a 50-hertz signal, John was in need of all the encourbut even then the synchronisation wasn't quite perfect and on the final-Paul: "One of the things most mix the orchestra can just be heard going in and out of time." Whew!

Listening to me . . . Paul McCartney, through Linda's eyes

he was breaking up the group."

agement and flattery he could get."

match. And I'm so glad now, particu-

larly after his death, that I don't

But, bitching apart, there's pre-cious little fun to be had here. Mr

Miles is obviously taking his career

as a stenographer far too seriously

worry about anything so high

falutin as a writing style, and the

prose fairly clunks along. They say that God is in the details, but if so

there's too much God here; too

many breathless recollections along

the lines of "Then George Martin

with their original four-track master

since they did not have an eight-

have that on my conscience."

beople don't know about John is that a lot of his genius was a cover-Paradoxically, there's too little up for his paranoia." "John was in about the actual songs and what love with Yoko and he was no inspired them; amazingly, McCartonger in love with the rest of us." ney's best song, the gorgeous Maybe "When John did How Do You Sleep?, 'm Amazed is not mentioned once. didn't want to get into a slanging

The final impression, for all the lush packaging and pedigree, is one of two old biddies gossiping over a garden fence about an absent third. It may be true that when it came to Silly Love Songs, Sir Paul has inflicted more than his due share upon the world. Nevertheless, you can't help feeling that his capricious and often surprising talent deserves some greater chronicler than a nere secretary bird, no matter how villing the ear or flexible the knee.

Order this book from CultureShop (see facing page) and you will be sent a free copy of the new revised edition of Revolution in The Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties

cook's mate Simon, who loves and I natius Sancho, fuelled the push for

Little Miss Know-it-all

Linda Grant

She's Leaving Home by Edwina Currie Little Brown 438pp £16.99

IN THE late eightics I was asked to approach Edwina Currie MP to conduct an interview for Good Housekeeping. I wrote to her mentioning that I grew up in the same Jewish suburb of Liverpool as Edwina Cohen (as was) did, though five or six years behind her, just starting secondary school when she was in the sixth form.

Her publicist, Barbara Kelly, rang me. A cigarette-stained Canadian voice said that Edwina would be delighted to neet me. We sorted out a date. Finally, Kelly said, "And her fee for this will be £2,000." I said, "I don't do chequebook journalism," and the matter ended there. "What a bitch," my mother said, when I told her.

Now Currie has written an autobiographical novel about her upbringing, It is the story of Helen Majinsky, growing up in Liverpool n the early 1960s. Helen lives in childwall, a Jewish suburb. Her ta ther, a tailor (Mr Cohen's job, 100). and her housewife mother are territied that their clever daughter will go away to university and reject for over the insular world of immigrate lews in which a woman's place is at the heart of the family. At the enricathe book, Helen is accepted at Cambridge in the teeth of the most vac lent tamily hostility

Buried in this long book is rather a good and serious one Chine is marvellous at conveying how very restricted the lives of even elever girls were back then, when even the aspiration for a better, different life. was dazzlingly bold and bohemian.

The problem is that Currie gets logged down in detailed accounts of the workings of the Jewish community which are oddly unevocative of what they describe. Why are they there? Because, I think, such detail and length is a statutory aspect of the Airport Novel, the only kind that makes big money. There's no cash in brief literary fiction, which this could be if it tried harder.

The real problem, though, lies at the centre of the book, in its heroine, a right little know it all, delivering stodgily didactic lectures on the virtues of Harold Macmillan and the pros and cons of entry into the Common Market. She talks like a politician throughout. We all think, at that age, that we are always right, but you wonder what distance and maturity Currie has from her own creation. At the end of the book Helen tells her father he is just as bad as the Nazis in demanding that she only marry meone of the same race

I probably said the same thing myself, but it seems cruel and callow now. For Helen, though, it is her triumphant catharsis and denouement, just before Cambridge acceptance and flight to a better world from these sad, bigoted old Jews she grew up amongst. A coming of age novel at 50 is a graceless thing.

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Childhood endurance test

Dan Jacobson

Boyhood: Scenes from Provincial Life by J M Coetzee

THIS memoir of the period be tween J M Coctzee's 10th and 13th years is written entirely in the third person and in the present tense. It is a mode of narration which vividly conveys to the reader the sheer unendingness of childhood in a double sense. To the child it seems to go on for ever. The adult,

Secker and Warburg 166pp £12,99

on the other hand, knows that it can never be put wholly behind him, since it has made him what he is. "Nothing", the writer says about himself as a boy growing up in the small South African Lown of Worcester, "leads him to think that childhood is anything but a time of gritting the teeth and enduring." He is gritting the teeth and enduring still. For something like two centuries Worcester has been a wine and fruit-growing centre in the famously fertile, beautiful Western Cape. To the young Coetzee, living with his family on an unsightly housing estate, it is a place of exile from the home he had known before in Cape Town — a locus of dust, dishonesty, cruelty and incomprehensible social and racial diviobserves in the world outside him, however, with all its uncrossable

The most painful of these, certainly the most obsessive, is his relationship with his mother. Of her self-sacrificing love for him he is (al-

lines of colour, language and belief,

cuts more deeply into him than the

divisions already existing in his own

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Philip Hensher

Dr Freud: A Life by Paul Ferris Sinclair-Stavenson 464no 200

contemporaries thought, as off his

dry irony, the air of implacable finality, with which they are delivered. An Afrikaner by name and by descent on both sides of the family, his parents have brought him up as a "false English boy" who hates the Afrikaners of Worcester and lears that they will claim him as one of their own. He feels an inexplicable envy of the outcast, barefoot, Cane Coloured boys and girls he passes in the streets, and is filled with a furtive desire for their smooth limbs, even as he despairingly won-

ders "what desire is for". Only during holidays on the farm owned by an Afrikaner uncle in the bleak Karroo, with its "landscape of ochre and grey and fawn and olivegreen", its "even; blinding light that then, only there, does he feel at peace with himself. Or as much at peace as this boy can ever be. He dreams of living on the farm, but an intolerable reality obtrudes once again. He wants to whisper a

warning to the sheep as they are rounded up for slaughter. But in their yellow eyes he catches a glimpse of something that silences him: a resignation, a foreknowledge . of what awaits them," The reader of Boyhood cannot help wishing that its author would let up on himself occasionally. It is

hard to know whether one wishes

this for the sake of the unbappy

child in the book or the unappeased

adult writing about him. Either way, It

the story.

THE father of psychoanalysis is, at least on the borderlines of his theory, an easy man to knock down. There is the early proponence of cocaine - written when Frend was himself addicted to it. One can make a strong case that some of his early work on hysteria, too, was produced when the author was not so much off his head, as many of his

Moreover a startling amount o most no clinical evidence at all. Paul Ferris has a certain amount of fun at doned this theory as quickly as he made it up, but a lot of his later work

wet Sunday afternoon. It shows. A good deal of Freud's work consists of material which now has only seemed rational to Freud to follow his pupils Jung and Ferenczi from explorations of the unconscious

mind into speculations about the paranormal and telepathy. seems to shape the evidence. Little Hans is the most incredible of the case histories, full of Oedipal remarks from the child such as "And, Daddy, when I'm married I'll only

lytical theory for too long.

But perhaps Frond's tailings now seem much more startling than they really are, simply because it's almost impossible to see how original and accurate he so often was. The fundamental idea of the telling dip or omission, in The Psy chopathology Of Everyday Life, is utterly uncontroversial. The role that The Interpretation Of Dreams played in shifting dream theory away from prophecy towards selfrevelation is now so obvious that the

Young Oedipus and the Tiller Girls as erotic dancers".

Another bout of hysteria

Freud's work was produced on althe expense of his 1896 paper "The Actiology of Hysteria", setting out what has come to be known as the "seduction theory". Freud abanis a similar leap of intuition rather than deduction from evidence. He is supposed to have told a pupil that Totem And Taboo came to him on a

a period interest. The seduction theory, which maintains that hysteria is abuse, is the most notorious example of something Freud's followers tried to keep quiet - it resurfaced in the 1980s, no more convincingly than in the 1890s. But there are some even madder corners: in the years before the first world war. it

I'm married to Mummy, and if I is a book worth noticing.

don't want a baby, God won't want i either, when I'm married." This complete load of pants, as we say in south London, shaped psychoana-

book can easily seem unremark-Where Frend was right, his findings have disappeared into the shared mass of ideas we all hold without even thinking about them; where he was wrong, he was spectactilarly — absurdly — so. His writings endure because what he says is

often, at some level, true. And his ideas became popular almost from their publication - sometimes in unpredictable style. Ferris has uncovered "the script of an unmade German movie of the period, Sensational Revelations from the Night Life of the Human Soul, [which] called for a choreographed version of Freud's Three Essays on Sexual-

This life of Freud can hardly be anything but enjoyable, given the almost incredible degree of squabbling which accompanied the birth of psychoanalysis and which still accompanies Freud's work and legacy. It is wonderfully full of Freud's more eccentric followers: "the gang", as he called them. The bickering with Jung and Adler and Klein Even in works more central to the is richly pleasurable, and is not Freudian corpus, wishful thinking skimped; it's a bickering which has been bequeathed to every Freudian. and anybody who is professionally concerned with Freud and psychoanalysis will, I dare say, examine the acknowledgments and the bibliogis an index of the impact made by have a baby when I want to, when raphy before deciding whether this

A voyage into memory

Maya Jaggi

eeding the Ghosts by Fred D'Agular Chatto 230pp £14.99

SICK slaves in the Middle Pas-sage were frequently thrown overboard with the dead since they would fetch more in insurance as goods lost at sea" than at the auc tion block. In 1783, as the Abolition st lobby gained ground, a scandal broke around the slave ship Zong, the crew of which had ditched 132 livestock" in the Atlantic.

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Zong murders as the half-drowned conscience of a society. As the captain orders his mutinous crew to dispose of the "sick stock", missioneducated Mintab clambers back on board to foment revolt. Calling to First Mate Kelsal, whom she had this sophistry. Beaten and abused, nursed after a shipwreck, the liter- kept from education like other poor ate, baptised African woman is the haunting reminder of a shared hu-

by thrifty insurers, the nightmare emerges from different viewpoin

simpleton Simon who is immune to whites and slaves, he keeps faith manity that he strives to gag, rape,

bludgeon and aubmerge. As the scene shifts from high seas to courtroom for a hearing provoked From this chilling scrap of hislitery Fred D'Aguiar has fashioned a
if it was filled with gold"; the judge
comically distracted by the prospect
a fictional sole survivor from the

the captain clutching his ledger as
if it was filled with gold"; the judge
comically distracted by the prospect
of cured pheasant; the slow-witted

Mintah's diary hints at how slave
accounts, such as 18th century bestsellers by Olaudah Equiano and Ig-

hides Mintah and presents her diary back after Emancipation 50 years on. The captain's orders are viewed as an affront not to humanity but to the sound management of stock, the safeguarding of profit. It is only the

with Mintah. D'Aguiar began as a poet, and his third novel has both suspense and poetic resonance. The fatal voyage is powerfully imagined, using muscular, elemental imagery of sea, wind, salt, wood, rope, broken bod-

Abolition. Feeding The Ghosts is Darily about the claims made on but memory by nameless other lives that went unrecorded - the sea's "grey vault" housing no monuments, as the epigraph from Derek Walcott says. As with the legends around Mintah, it is in Caribbean and African-American folklore that rebels are remembered.

This novel is a powerful addition to a growing genre in British fiction. Alongside work by Caryl Phillips, David Dabydeen and Barry Unsworth, it probes the triangular trade's brutal mechanics through individual hearts and minds - on deck and in the hold.

Yet D'Agular's novel seems less a polemical answering-back than a meditation on a shared legacy -"unending", like the Zong's voyage.

A tide in the affairs of birds

Mark Cocker

T HOLKHAM in north Norfolk there was no breeze and the North Sea was dead calm, yet the incoming tide still devoured vast expanses of beach at a remarkable pace. Each moon-driven surge exploited even the slightest camber in the sand flats, the waters pushing in, then cutting behind any higher, more resistant ridge of shingle until it was completely cut off

These momentary islets at the tide-edge were perfect feeding areas for a group of sanderlings, the most easily recognised and characterful of a difficult bird group known generically as sandpipers. In summer, sanderlings are richly chequered with russet, chestnut and black. In winter they are reduced to a ghostly white and grey. But at all times their most striking feature is their frenetic movement

This behaviour is partly dictated by the birds' dietary preference, which is for the invertebrates found just below the beach surface and which are most easily detected as the tide first washes over. Sanderlings must dash in between successive waves, probe briefly in the exposed substrate, then dash out again to avoid being soaked. The birds I watched were performing exactly this routine.

Quick crossword no. 388

14 Green

vegetable (7)

substitute (6)

like sheep!) (5)

16 Handkerchief

20 Doorpost (4)

But as the rising waters nibbled away at one islet it was evident that they had found a rich food source and they worked feverishly to exploit it before it was lost altogether. Soon there was no dry sand visible. but the sanderlings still scuttled among the shallows, their heads bobbing up and down like clock-

work toys. At one point a higher wavelet lifted two birds clear off, but they were undeterred and scampered in again to probe the backwash. This continued until finally the water rose above their bellies and they conceded defeat, only to fly inland a little to a new frontier of sea and sand.

It was a highly entertaining performance, the flock's mechanica quickstep and nervous intensity reminding me of nothing more strongly than the antics of the Keystone Cops of silent movie fame. But this note of comedy disgulses a more serious, often epic story that underlies a sanderling's presence on Holkham beach.

For the bird's breeding cycle is an enlarged version of their opportunistic feeding action, the species exploiting the extraordinary — but highly transient — bloom of life in the high Arctic. As late as the end of May I have seen many hundreds of sanderlings gathered on this very Norfolk beach before they set off

Since the breeding area is all beyond the 5°C July isotherm, the pack-ice and snow may not melt until June and can return again by August. Sanderlings must be able, therefore, to breed, lay and incubate heir eggs and rear their young to edgling within six weeks.

Then they begin a return journey, pirds from Greenland sometimes travelling as far south as Tierra del Fuego in South America, while some Siberian populations move down through Southeast Asia to winter on the Pacific coast of Australia

By mid to late summer birds from both breeding locations also arrive n Britain, where some remain fo more than six months.

In fact, at least half of all the sanderlings wintering in western Europe can be found on British beaches such as Holkham. But others only stop to refuel before continuing south as far as the African Cape. Here they can almost double in weight before doing the ourney in reverse.

It is therefore possible that the birds I was watching were party to an annual Siberia/South Africa odyssey of more than 35,000km. which seems a rather impressive performance for a creature that weighs no more than 100 grams.

Chess Leonard Barden

THE chess world's three junior talents, who are talked of as potential successors to Garry Kasparov, have had mixed fortunes lately. Britain's Lake McShane, aged 13, has preferred steady improvement this summer rather than attempting to break Etlenne Bacrot of France's record as the youngest grandmaster. But McSlune gained valuable Fide rating points at Lippstadt, Germany, and in the Smith & Williamson British Championship at Hove.

In contrast, Rushm Pononariov, with a record 2,555 points for age 13, nucle a daring attempt in July to snatch Bacrot's record. The Ukrainian, by far the youngest player in the under-20 world championship that offers an automatic GM title for the vinner, shared the lead with 6/8 five rounds from the end.

Then disaster struck. The nexperienced Ponomariev repeated a dubious Sicilian that he had already played previously, and fell for a devastating reply. Macieja v Ponomaricv was effectively over just two moves after leaving the book:

1 e4 c5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 cxd4 4 Nxd4 Nf6 5 Nc3 g6?! 6 Nxc6 bxc6 7 e5 Ng8 8 Bc4 Bg7 9 Bf4 Qa5 10 Qf3 f6? (Magem v Ponomariov, Pamplona 1997, went Bxe5 11 Bxf7+) 11 e6 d5 12 Bb5! (threats Bxc6+ or Qxd5) exb5 13 Qxd5 Qb6 14 Qxa8. White won easily, and a demoralised Ponomariov collapsed to 7/13.

Bacrot looks the boy to beat. Following last year's match where the teenager crushed the former world champion Smyslov 5-1, he challenged the formidable Viktor Korchnoi, aged 66. Korchnoi won 4-2, but Bacrot was far from outclassed. This game was the best of the match.

Bacrot v Korchnol

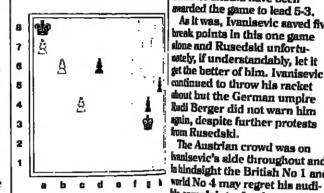
d4 Nf6 2 c4 c6 3 Nf3 d5 4 Ne3 c5 5 cxd5 Nxd5 6 c4 Nxc3 7 bxc3 cxd4 8 cxd4 Nc6 9 Bc4

b5 One suggested approach to the ing prodigies is to choose more that were in fashion before they were born, so Korchnoi repens Fischer idea from the famous man against Spassky.

10 Be2l Spassky played 10 Bit not 10 Bxb5? Qa5+, Bb4+ 11 Bit Bxd2+ 12 Qxd2 Rb8 13 d5 exd5 14 cxd5 Ne7 15 d6 Ns 16 Rd1 O-O Not Rb6? 17 Belsa

17 d7 Bb7 18 0-0 Qf6 19 Qf4 a6 20 g4 Bxf3 21 Bxf3 M 22 Qxf6 gxf6 23 Be4 Rfd8 24 RdG n5 Both sides aimed for this position, where Korchnoi hopesta round up the d7 pawn by KBe7m Ngti-18, 25 f4 NgG 26 h4 Novi Nxh4 27 f5 traps the knight, while? Kf8 27 h5 Ke7 28 Rfd1 Nf8 29h6 favours white.

The rest is impressive play by Bacrot. Kg7 27 h5 Nf8 28 h6+ Kxh6 29 g5+ Kg7 30 gd6+ kg 31 Bc6 Ne6 32 f5 Nc7 33 kg Rb6 34 Rc1 Na6 35 Re3 Re3 lor an audible obscenity in the Re8 Rb8 37 Bxb5 Resign Wir second set and, when he flung his wins by Rec8.



Known as the Jap Trick, this appeared to concentrate puzzle was inspired by the Russo-Japanese war of 1904. most fragile part of his make-up, The white pawns are kamikan attackers, while Black's are buttleships from the Eastern past two months, slipped Fleet. I've seen far betterches sharply and he, too, was warned images, but can you work out for belting a ball into the crowd. what happens with White to play But this lapse was surely

No 2493: 1 Kc5 c1Q 2 Nc4+ Manything. Since he lost the and mate by 3 Ra3 or 3 Ral. And of the US Open to

> North **♣**Q4 **₩AK98743 ♦654**

♥ None-**♣**AQJ853 3♥

"How could it be my fault"

Tennis CA Trophy A final too far

for Rusedski

most galling of all, after leading

by two sets - in the final of the

CA Trophy here, 3-6, 6-7, 7-6,

to break Ivanisevic in the third

set, yet just could not nail him.

The Croatian had been warned

sage of the third, Rusedski be-

break points in this one game

sately, if understandably, let it

get the better of him. Ivanisevic

continued to throw his racket

shout but the German umpire

Rudi Berger did not warn him

om Rusedski.

gain, despite further protests

The Austrian crowd was on

vanisevic's aide throughout and

labindsight the British No 1 and

ble complaints, for they

lvanisevic's mind, always the

trd, so implacable during the

down to sheer fatigue as much

whereas Rusedski's mental con-

slone and Rusedski unfortu-

awarded the game to lead 5-3. As it was, Ivanisevic saved five

leved he should have been

Rusedski had 11 opportunities

QUARDIAN WEEKLY

Alan Henry in Suzuka ATRICK HEAD fears that history may repeat itself as Michael Schumacher and THE shadow of Goran Ivanisevic is one of the longest in tennis and one that Greg Rusedski, for all his suc-Jacques Villeneuve go into the final cess, has been singularly unable race of the season, the European to shake off this year, writes Grand Prix at Jerez later this month. Stephen Bierley in Vienna. each needing to beat the other — or He lost to the gangling Croatian is the Zagreb final in February, perhaps prevent him from finishing - to win the world championship. sgain in the semi-finals at Queen's, and last Sunday — the

In the final race of 1994 Schumacher bumped Damon Hill off the track at Adelaide. Head, the Williams team's technical director, said last Sunday: "The man who goes into the last race in the lead is in a position where he can, as we've seen in a number of years previously, be very aggressive with the person behind.

"I view what happened to Damon in 1994 as the deliberate removal of a competitor. The man with less points will have to be very careful if he is challenging for the lead."

Schumacher has always denied that he acted deliberately, pointing out that his Benetton had hit a wall and saying he was unable to control it as it slewed across the track into Hill's Williams. The accident handed the German driver his first world title

Head was speaking after Schumacher's Ferrari victory in the apanese Grand Prix here moved the German to within a point of Vileneuve, the Williams driver, with

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

with a seventh-round stoppage

only one race remaining. Indeed, it may be Schumacher who holds the one-point lead going into the last race. Villeneuve was racing under appeal after initially being excluded for failing to slow for a yellow warning flag during free practice. It was his fourth such offence this season, activating a one-race suspended ban imposed at last month's Italian Grand Prix.

All set for final showdown

Head believes that Villeneuve will lose the two points he gained in the race when the team's appeal is heard by the FIA. That would mean him going to Jerez one point behind Schumacher, just as Hill did three years ago. Head remained confident,

though, "If we can get this situation behind us — Jacques being banned and the appeal — we should be perfectly capable of beating Michael, and that's what we need to do there in Jerez," he said.

Schumacher's victory was a triumph of Ferrari team tactics, with the No 2 driver Eddie Irvine collaborating perfectly to ensure Villeneuve was subjected to maximum aggravation and inconvenience. Villeneuve finished in fifth place -

behind Schumacher, his own teammate Heinz-Harald Frentzen, Irvine and Mika Hakkinen of Finland. Schumacher, who showed his delight by jumping for joy on the podium, said: This is one of the

most satisfying wins of my career."

But he was critical of Villeneuve's slowing tactics at the first corner, "It could have been very dangerous,' he claimed. "Jacques dld not want me to score any points and tried to make life difficult for me."

However, Frentzen defended his team-mate, saying: "Many people sald before the race that Jacques would push Michael off, but that's not his way."

 The French Grand Prix has been omitted from next year's Formula One calendar, announced in Paris by the International Automobile Federation, after a dispute over local television rights. French officials are hoping that the dispute, which has created a five-week gap between the Canadian and British GPs, will be resolved soon.

scored centuries in the same in-

In addition, his stand of 151 with

Ahmed was the joint highest last

nings of a Test.

Golf World Match Play

Singh stops Els at last

David Davies at Wentworth

__INALLY, but only in the final, and then on the final green, Ernic Els knew defeat. After three successive triumphs involving 11 successive winning matches, he was denied a fourth Toyota World Match Play championship when he lost to Vijay Singh by one hole here last Sunday.

In what was far from a classic final, Els was two under par for the 36 holes and Singh three under, Although the closing stages were close they were not compelling. The two men played the last six holes without a birdie between them as the match meandered to a curiously ow-key finish.

"If I'd played well and he'd beaten me by playing great, that would've been different," admitted a clearly weary and somewhat depressed Els, "but that was not my best golf at all. It was not at all like I've played for the last three years. I tried very hard to hang in there but I guess i had to stop some time."

Singh, too, was aware that it had been an anticlimactic final. "Ir matchplay all you have to do is play better than your opponent, which I did," the Fijian said defensively. "The figures might not look great but it was quite difficult out there. with the course playing long and the wind swirling in the trees."

That may be true, but the conditions were certainly easier than when Singh went round in 65 against Brad Faxon or when Els was 11 under in beating Ian Woosnam in the semi-finals. It was, in short, just one of those days.

Singh becomes one of only two men - Corey Pavin is the other to win from an unseeded position and thus have to play four rounds of 36 holes. Now based in Florida, he has been working with a personal fitness trainer and claimed not to be tired at the conclusion of play, though there is a certain buoyancy about the cheque for \$275,000 that goes to the winner nowadays.

Singh's triumph also adds weight to the argument that he is one of the world's best players never to have won a major championship. Colin Montgomerie and Phil Mickelson are the leading candidates in this category, but the languid Singh is often as impressive as either of them.

"The Wentworth victory is a personal achievement," he said. "I'd read about Gary Player and Hale Irwin winning here and now I've not just played in it, I've won it. Majors are the toughest of tournaments to win, but I have time and I have a long way to go before I give up."

Football results

IATIONWIDE LEAGUE: MATION WIDE LEAGUE: Division Oner Birminghm 1, Wolves 0; Reading 3, Crewe 3, Stockport 3, Oxford Stoke 2, Port Vale 1; Swindon 3, Bury 1.

Division Two: Burnley 3, Carisle 1; Chesterfid 2, Wigan 3; Fulharn 1, Blackpool 0; Gillingham 1, Wycombe 0; Grimsby 1, Northmoin 0; Luton 3, Plymouth 0; Milwoll 2, Oldham 1; Preston 0, Bournemith 1; Southend 0, Bristol City 2; Welsall 3, Wrexham 0; York 3, Brantlord 1.

Olivielon Three: Chester 2, Brighton 0; Doncaster 2, Hartlepool 2; Exeter 1, Swensea 0; Huli 3, Scarboro 0; Leyton O 1, Rotherham 1; Lincoln 1, Torquey 1; Mansflett 3, Cambridge 2; Notits Co 1, Macclastid 1; Peterboro 3, Colchester 2; Rochdate 5, Darlington 0; Shrawabry 2, Barnet 0.

Bridge Zia Mahmood

hand was a joy:

9 Commit (a crime Last week's solution point?

MICHAEL COURTNEY, known to the inmates of TGR's as "Mad Dog", is an Australian with a was starting to hate the whole busiwonderful sense of humour and a ness, so I decided that five diamassive appetite for beer. Often referred to as "Mr 4NT" for his con- | Dog could bid a slam facing only tinual abuse of the Blackwood conone acc. I ought to be able to make vention, he's the biggest overbidder | it with two - but if I showed my in the universe, but he can afford to be, for he is an excellent card

In the previous Chicago, Court- six spades from Courtney, and a ney had doubled me in a slam that had made — but now he was my partner, and I knew that I would ace when I had two, and besides, if have to tread carefully. My first | my opponent was doubling on the ◆AKJ965♥None◆7♠AQJ853 | was wrong to assume that we could

I opened with an Acol two spades. My left-hand opponent put | could stand. a damper on proceedings by overcalling with 2NT to show the minors, so my club suit was unlikely" to provide many tricks. Courtney bid three hearts, and my right-hand opponent joined in with four diamonds. The signs were bad, but there was little I could do other than bid four spades. Courtney, of course, bid the inevitable 4NT. What call would you make at this

I had two aces, so it would have been normal to bid five hearts. But I monds was more prudent. If Mad actual holding, who knew to what

heights we might soar?

My bid of five diamonds elicited basis of a trick in hearts, I could cope with that easily. I knew that it make anything Courtney bid, but this was more than flesh and blood

"Redouble!" I exclaimed, conclud-

♦AK983 \$1097642 **★**AKJ965

South Zia Pass 4NT 6♠ Pass Red'ble Pass Pass

ustralia's Pat Rafter, the anion's life has been one buge whirl of activity, both on and off His new coach Tony Pickard new that the fuel had all but ru out and his man was rupthis on vapour, but between them they nearly engineered another famous victory. Just by etting to the final, his second while eight days after winning in lasel, Rusedald moved another O simportant step closer to his aim reaching the ATP World ipionships in Hanover next conti, a tournament limited to be eight top-ranked players in a world as of November 10. Last Saturday Rusedski had West North But he top player in Britain

North Couring The 6-4, 6-4 win over his archhad alsevic he appeared unstop-ber ble after winning the seconddie-break 7-4. anisevic previously held a O advantage over Rusedski in

"Redouble!" I exclaimed, concluding a dramatic auction (above right). West led the ace of diamonds, on which East played the two. West switched accurately to a club, and East ruffed lti One down.

"Why did you bid six spades" when you thought we were missing two aces?" I asked Mad Dog.

"Six?" he replied. "I nearly bid seven! Anyway, don't go blaming me. It was your fault."

"How could it be my fault."

"If you'd just bid five here an epic 20-18 win at Queen's show your two aces," his transportant to a miserable four months chicken, West would are to chicken, which we are the case shoot-outs, includent an epic 20-18 win at Queen's allowed an epic 20-18 win at Queen's an epic 20-18 win a

Hamed hits the high notes on home ground OCAL HERO Naseem Hamed | am glad I was respectable and could | from Ali Naqvi earlier, represented retained his World Boxing Ordo a professional job under the cirthe first time two debutants have ganisation featherweight crown OHN MERRICKS, winner of the

without a mark on him. On the same bill was Chris Eubank, whose bid to recapture the vacant WBO super-middleweight title ended in failure when he was beaten on points by Joe Calzaghe. The young Welshman had the former champion in all sorts of trouble in the early rounds, dumping him on the canvas with a stinging punch just 30 seconds into the fight. But Eubank clawed his way back into the contest. However, he was unable to stop Calzaghe finishing well

ahead of him on points. Carl Wright, another fighter on the same bill, underwent emergency neurosurgery after losing his British light-welterweight title fight to the Ulsterman Mark Winters on points. The Liverpool boxer was later placed on a life-support machine.

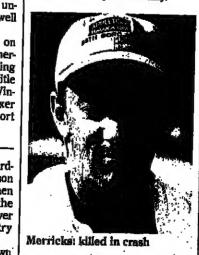
BRITISH cyclist Chris Board-man's disappointing season ended with a consolation prize when he won the bronze medal in the world time-trial championship over 27 miles in the Basque country

resort of San Sebastian. Boardman picked up speed down the final hill to pip Tony Rominger to the final medal place by nearly to the final medal place by nearly four seconds. Laurent Jalabert of Atwo records as he and last man France claimed the gold in a time of Mushtaq Ahmed guided Pakistan to

against his Puerto Rican opponent Jose Badilla, in Sheffield, Hamed was on top from the start and fin-470 dingby silver medallist at the last Olympics, was killed when the ished the eighth defence of his title car in which he was a passenger went out of control and crashed in Italy. He was 26. Merricks's longtime sailing partner, Ian Walker, was with him at the time of the accident but escaped with minor injuries, as did the rest of those in the vehicle.

Merricks was leading the Melges 24 European championship when he died and, as a mark of respect, racing was stopped and the champion awarded to him posthumously

France claimed the gold in a time of 52:01.19sec with Sergei Contchar of the Ukraine in second place. The Briton, nursing a rib injury, said: "I mood's unbeaten 128, following 115 http://www.football.guardian.co.uk



wicket partnership in Test history. equalling a stand set by New Zealand against Pakistan in 1972. Pakistan's previous best last wicket stand was 133 against West Indies. The Rawalpindi Test, in which South Africa replied with 403, petered out in a draw. ARL HOOPER, the West Indies ✓ all-rounder currently preparing for a Test series in Pakistan, will return to Kent as their overseas player next season, replacing the Zimbabwe leg-spinner Paul Strang.

RUGUAY, twice World Cup winners, exited the current competition despite holding Argentina to a 0-0 draw in Buenos Aires. Paraguay, Argentina and Colombia are already through in the South American zone. THIRD Division Swansea City have sacked their player-manager Jan Molby and his assistant Billy Ayre after a poor start to the

Fulham, succeeded Molby, who had been in the job 18 months.

Meanwhile Newcastle's manager
Kenny Dalglish has signed the Australia Under-21 international striker Carlos Gonzales from Sydney Olympic on a two-year contract.

season. Micky Adams, jettisoned at



branch (4) 21 Draw — find (5) 22 Bright red (7) 23 Talkative person (10)

Across

1 Smuggled

etc (5)

goods (10)

Irreverent (7)

8 Group of trees

10 Make weary (4)

11 Nomad (from eg

Bolton?) (8)

13 Consequence (6

15 Sheepdog (6)

disputed (8)

18 Incitement or

17 Denied or

Down 1 Frolic (for sauce!) 2 Cranny (4)

3 Scamp (6) 4 Illicit or tracesman s entrance (4,4) 5 Not taking sides

entitlement (10)

6 Hereditary

etc) (10) 12 Leaflet -- extra CLAPHAM A E V
O D ARRANGE
PYRAMID C CAR
R I SE CAHOOTS
AT LAS A B R U
H EMPTINESS
O C S A
QUEERFISH N
U M E N OUTDO
ORBITAL PH D
R O A A A GROUND
UNSCREWEI M B L
M S Y SICKBAY canvas for tent 19 Flower (sounds